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AN INTRODUCTION TO
THE STUDY OF SOCIETY



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AN INTRODUCTION

TO

THE STUDY OF SOCIETY

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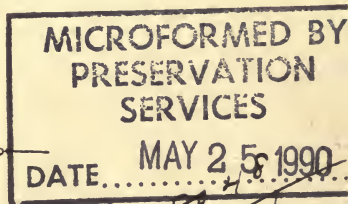
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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH this book is the first of its kind, the demand for it has been created by earlier American expounders of social relations. A syllabus of sociological method, printed in 1889 for the use of his students, by one of the authors of this Manual, was mentioned by President E. B. Andrews in a widely circulated article upon the literature of Sociology. From the terms in which numerous readers of the article requested copies of the "Introduction," it was apparent that interest in scientific exposition of society was more general than the author had supposed.

It is impossible to apportion credit for the new social impulse in the United States, but it is fair to say that the sources of influence most frequently mentioned in the correspondence referred to were the writings of Dr. Samuel W. Dike, Professor Richard T. Ely, and Professor Franklin H. Giddings.

During the last five years attention to specific social problems has become more general, and at the same time there has arisen an effective demand for guidance in the investigation of sociological as distinguished from social problems. Conspicuous among the signs and agencies of this change have been the *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, by Mr. J. S. Mackenzie; two papers by Professor Giddings, *The Province of Sociology*, published in 1890, and *Sociology as a University Study*, which appeared in 1891; the sociological department of the *Andover Review*, under the editorial direction of Professor, now President, Tucker, and the writings of Professor Lester F. Ward.

During the last decade the nearly simultaneous appearance of the course title *Social Science*, or *Sociology*, in scores of college catalogues, has emphasized the claims of the new phase of social thought. Since the organization of the department of Sociology in the University of Chicago, in 1892, applications for information about a suitable college text-book in Sociology have been incessant. The fact that no such text-book exists has enforced the belief that the preparation of a guide to the elementary study of Sociology is the best scientific service which the department can immediately render.

The amount of originality in this manual is obviously limited by indebtedness acknowledged throughout the following pages to those systematic writers who began the construction of a scientific sociological method. On the other hand, it will not be doubtful that the book has a certain individuality. It acknowledges no authority except the content of the facts to be investigated; it depends upon no traditional interpretation, and it accepts no classifications nor conclusions as finalities.

The authorship of the manual has been a work of genuine collaboration. From the nature of the case one of the authors must and should incur the heavier responsibility for defects of matter or manner. On the other hand, there has been such partnership in conception and execution that either author is willing to concede to the other the major portion of credit for possible merits of the book.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the liberality of the publishers. Their coöperation has been as sympathetic and generous as if no pecuniary calculations had been involved.

ALBION W. SMALL.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

THIS manual should be judged by experts not as a supposed contribution to sociological knowledge, but as a proffered help in the training of beginners. It is the outgrowth of experience in teaching Sociology under difficulties. It is not a report of research upon the material of social knowledge, but the proposal of a method of preliminary investigation adaptable to the use of college students.

This manual
for beginners

The manual has been referred to in another place as a "laboratory guide." This description indicates the conception of the authors, and the nature of the recommendations which they would offer to teachers. Men and institutions, as they live, move, and have their being in actual society, are to constitute the material of both effective and speculative philosophy from this time forward. To know ourselves as social beings, it has become necessary to study ourselves in our every-day occupations. It is interesting, and in its way profitable, to study the thoughts which men, past and present, have formed about social facts and forces, but positive knowledge, the test of thought about society, can come only from scrutiny of past and present human reality. The method of credible Sociology must be the method of observation and induction, and this book tries to arrange an order of observation which will direct attention to significant facts, and to the essential relations of facts to each other.

A "laboratory
guide"

Speculation
tested by
observation

Familiar facts not necessarily known in their relations

Details of ordinary experience are the material of Sociology

This book does not offer conclusions, but shows a method of deriving them

In spite of the unusual arrangement, the familiarity of the subject discussed will doubtless disappoint many. Sociology is nothing but systematic knowledge of human beings, who have always been commonplace and at the same time mysterious. Sociology has no other task and no other evidence than the task and the evidence which the facts of associated human life contain. The problems of society are not in some social *terra incognita*, constructed by the kaleidoscope of abstract reasoning, and visible only in imagination. The puzzling world is the student's own world, and he may as well begin to resolve the puzzle in his own street or school district. The terms of social problems are the most commonplace facts of social experiences, but they are of no less evident scientific value. Salt had been familiar to everybody for thousands of years, but there was nothing commonplace about its decomposition into sodium and chlorine. To every one but members of Izaak Walton's guild the earthworm was a creature of prosaic, not to say contemptible associations, but he attained a dignity in the scientific world when Biology found him out and made him an expositor of vital relations. Social problems are involutions of facts observable wherever there are men, women, and children. Sociology is the last reading of these familiar facts. This book is, therefore, an invitation to practice observation and interpretation of the most ordinary social relations.

It is perhaps superfluous to say that it would be useless or worse to experiment with this method unless the instructor has some time for independent observation and reflection. This book cannot take the place of a teacher competent to guide the studies of pupils. The text is hardly more than a series of directions to places where material of social interest may be discovered. The book does not furnish conclusions, but spurs to curiosity about

facts with reference to which it is desirable to form conclusions. Together with a judicious teacher, who is at liberty to do more than hear recitations, the book should serve a purpose in Sociology analogous with that aimed at by Parker's *Elementary Biology*, or by Huxley's *Practical Biology*.

The book to be compared with laboratory guides in Biology

Such being the design of the manual, it is evident that the questions proposed for students' theses have an importance which would not appear without this explanation. The method will not be applied to best purpose unless students use the principles of analysis and synthesis illustrated in the text for investigation of corresponding conditions within the range of their own observation. The ideal use of the method would result in an account of the history and present conditions of the town in which the study is pursued, following the model of Book II., and carrying out the details of social structure under the categories indicated by Books III., IV., and V. This definite aim may be pursued by concentrating the studies of the class upon the circumstances of their own town. Maps like those in Book II. should be constructed. The remaining work of investigation should be divided, and the results should be brought together in a conspectus. Such a work has been done with credit by members of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, in a recently published study of Philadelphia.

Prime importance of the studies recommended

This study should result in an accurate account of the social conditions in a selected town

If teachers desire a more specific schedule of topics suggestive of local inquiries, Dr. C. R. Henderson's *Catechism for Residents at Social Settlements* would be serviceable.

More specific schedule of topics

Book II. should be read, and the teacher should quiz to bring out pupils' comprehension of its significance, as a whole and in typical particulars. It is to be used as an outline into which should be drawn specific details belong-

Book II. should be kept in mind throughout the whole study

ing to the students' own locality. Book II. should be kept in mind throughout the study, instead of being treated as a section distinct from the last three books.

Book I. may be omitted by the least mature students

It is quite possible that the manual may be used with profit by a wise teacher with a class not sufficiently mature to deal with Book I. at all. In any event that portion of the work should at the beginning of the study be read only, and the topics suggested for theses should be reserved for review of the whole method.

Time necessary may vary from one term to one year

The authors think that the manual may be adapted to use for periods varying from twelve weeks to a year. In case a careful study of a town is undertaken, a year would suffice if the number of coöperating investigators were large.

The manual treats only a fraction of Sociology

Emphasis should be laid upon the fact that this manual covers only a small fraction of General Sociology. It deals not even with Descriptive Sociology in full. It might be described as a method of Contemporary Descriptive Sociology. The remaining divisions of Social Philosophy are referred to only incidentally (§ 29).

Generalization vs. Observation

At first glance there will seem to be little in common between the highly generalized system of Schäffle, the principles of which this manual seeks to place within reach of American students, and the highly concrete system of investigating special social conditions, which Professor R. T. Ely so successfully introduced in this country a decade ago. In fact, the two methods complement each other. The method of this book is a crusade against the fashionable social sciolism which assumes ability to perform large social generalization without precise knowledge of any contained particular.

Vicious tendencies in social doctrine

Two dangers threaten in the new thought about society. The first of these is the possibility that destructive dogmas will control popular imagination until the spirit of the French

Revolution will reappear, and will be exorcised only after society, in all its parts, has learned its delusion at fearful cost. A primary duty of the teacher of Sociology is to approach the study in such a spirit that his influence will make against every destructive tendency. To discharge this duty successfully the teacher must impress the pupil with the belief that his primary task is not to reform society, but to understand society. The student should be liberated from any bondage to the political superstition that "whatever is is right." At the same time he should be shown that if institutions are defective they are the reflection of defective social knowledge, and that much information must be gathered about many things before safe substitutes for prevailing social conclusions can be derived.

Sociology constructive, not destructive

The second danger threatened by current thought is the possibility that certain mystical preachers will be mistaken for sociologists, with the result that the people who are now accusers of society will be encouraged in their assaults, and that good men, who are also acquainted with affairs, will be driven to distrust of religion as a social guide, and of all Social Philosophy except a policy of indifference and inaction. The most mischievous social doctrinaires among us are not the theoretical anarchists, who attack social order directly, but those zealous prophets of righteousness who teach that the only reason why the kingdom of God cannot be established on earth to-morrow is that Christians will not put their knowledge of social principles into practice.

Certain good men more mischievous than violators of social order

Any Sociology is superficial which calculates upon stable equilibrium in unchristian society, but Christian purpose and aspiration cannot furnish technical skill or information. Piety without knowledge of facts would work disaster in politics and economics just as in navigation or in pharmacy. The rhapsodists to whom we have referred virtually repudiate the Christian version of cosmic order:—"Ye shall know

Christian ideals and precise social science are complementary

the truth, and the truth shall make you free." They imagine that it is practicable to achieve freedom by knowing only half the truth, and that the half remotest from immediate applicability.

Our method
the correlation
of particulars
into general
system

In opposition to both these tendencies, this manual aims to commend a method which shall first emphasize the necessity of precise knowledge of social facts; and which shall, second, confirm students in the habit of widening their comprehension of particulars by relating them to the containing conditions. The study recommended is scrutiny of the superficially, or perhaps rather the supposably familiar, in order that the student may learn humility of judgment upon universal policies or principles, through discovery of his ignorance about the elements of social combinations and the rudiments of social wisdom. It is vicious to encourage students to speculate about great questions of social reform, before they have learned to know intimately the facts of social structures and functions. American society is likely to be sufficiently prolific of social disturbers, even if the colleges refrain from artificial propagation of irresponsible theorists.

Book I

THE ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF SOCIOLOGY

§ 1. No one can tell when men began to think about the phenomena of associated human life. The earliest Pharaohs and the most ancient Magi may have had social theories as positive as those of Kaiser Wilhelm II. or of the College of the Propaganda. Systems of social doctrine are by no means inventions of the nineteenth century. Moses and Plato and Justinian and Mahomet and Calvin and Rousseau made sociologies after their kind. Nearly all the philosophers and theologians and expounders of history have tried to explain social relations in such a way that the exposition might furnish a clue to the ultimate rule of life. Sociology deals with subjects, therefore, which men have written about for more than two thousand years ; but for all that Sociology is a science less than fifty years old.

Sociology is a new interpretation of old facts

§ 2. Many men now living remember that, when they asked to be taught about plants, they were referred not to plants, but to books ; when they wished to learn of rocks, they were told to study not rocks, but books ; when they wanted to know the composition of matter in general, they were set to study not substances, but books. The teachers had not found out the superior pedagogy of things ; their pedantry pinned its faith to books containing the shadows cast upon the minds of other men by mental images of things. This pedagogic slavery to books was a survival of

The development of the physical sciences prepared the way for Sociology

the scholasticism which Bacon began to destroy in the thirteenth century by turning from words to things as the source of real knowledge. Objective knowledge of society was impossible until the sciences that dealt with simple combinations had developed the objective method.

Acquaintance
with history
of natural
sciences an
invaluable
preparation
for sociologi-
cal study

§ 3. Emancipation of mind from the slavery of dialectics to the franchise of reality is not sufficiently complete for profitable study of the most complex phenomena, until the liberation is perfect in relation to simpler phenomena. The method of observation, discrimination, classification, and generalization, which has laid the foundation for physical and biological science, must become the habit of the student of society. Much of the knowledge appropriate to Sociology is fast in the bonds of dialectics. It can be redeemed only by men skilled in the processes of real knowledge.

Reading sug-
gested

Ideal preparation for sociological research would include experience in physical and chemical and biological investigation. Reading about physical and vital science cannot supply the lack of laboratory discipline. The beginnings of Sociology, however, are in the development of the natural sciences; and the knowledge of these which can be obtained by the historical method should be added to experimental training, or should be gained as the best attainable compensation in default of such training, preliminary to the study of Sociology. Undergraduates would be assisted to use the method to which this book is an introduction by reading the historical portions of the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the titles: *Astrology*, *Astronomy*, *Physics*, *Chemistry*, *Botany*, *Zoölogy*, *Anatomy*, and *Medicine*. Each of these accounts exhibits a transition of thought from the fictitious to the real. In combination, they trace some of the main lines of exploration which have resulted in

demand for like realism in all science. Until recently, opinion has dominated social doctrine. Sociology has entered the ranks of the sciences by turning from opinion to precise examination of social facts.

§ 4. The pioneer in modern Sociology was Auguste Comte. Comte's epoch-making work, entitled *Course of Positive Philosophy*, was in six volumes. The first of these appeared in 1830; the last in 1842. A passage from the first chapter of the *Positive Philosophy* contains one of the few germinal thoughts which entitle Comte to the distinction of priority in scientific Sociology.

Auguste Comte the pioneer of scientific Sociology

"It cannot be necessary to prove to anybody who reads this work that ideas govern the world or throw it into chaos; in other words, that all social mechanism rests upon opinions. The great political and moral crisis that societies are now undergoing is shown, by a rigid analysis, to arise out of intellectual anarchy. While stability in fundamental maxims is the first condition of genuine social order, we are suffering from an utter disagreement which may be called universal. Until a certain number of ideas can be acknowledged as a rallying point of social doctrine, the nations will remain in a revolutionary state, whatever palliatives may be devised, and their institutions can only be provisional. But whenever the necessary agreement on first principles can be obtained, appropriate institutions will issue from them, without shock or resistance; for the causes of disorder will have been arrested by the mere fact of agreement. It is in this direction that those must look who desire a natural and regular, a normal state of society.

Intellectual anarchy the source of social evils

"We have only to complete the Positive Philosophy by bringing social phenomena within its comprehension, and afterward consolidating the whole into one body of homogeneous doctrine. . . . It is time to complete the vast intellectual operation begun by Bacon, Descartes, and Galileo, by constructing the system of general ideas, which must henceforth prevail among the human race. This is the way to put an end to the revolutionary crisis which is tormenting the civilized nations of the world." (1830.)

Comte insisted on importance of rational classification

§ 5. In order of logical importance, the next contribution of Comte to Sociology was his insistence upon the need of a rational classification of phenomena. (*Positive Philosophy*, Book I., Chap. II.)

"In proceeding to offer a classification of the sciences, we must leave on one side all others that have ever been attempted. Such scales as those of Bacon and D'Alembert are constructed upon an arbitrary division of the faculties of the mind; whereas our principal faculties are often engaged at the same time in any scientific pursuit. As for other classifications, they have failed, through one fault or another, to command assent; so that there are almost as many schemes as there are individuals to propose them. The failure has been so conspicuous that the best minds feel a prejudice against this kind of enterprise in any shape.

Failure of classifications explained

"Now, what is the reason of this? For one reason, the distribution of the sciences, having become a somewhat discredited task, has, of late, been undertaken chiefly by persons who have no sound knowledge of any science at all. . . . They have failed to discover that a radical contrariety existed between the materials they were attempting to combine. The fact was clear enough, if it had but been understood, that the enterprise was premature; and it was useless to undertake it till our principal scientific conceptions should all have become positive. . . . This indispensable condition may now be considered fulfilled; and thus the time has arrived for laying down a sound and durable system of scientific order."

Classification must be based on study of the thing classified

§ 6. Comte still further contributed to Sociology by proposing the following principle of classification:—

"We may derive encouragement from the example set by recent botanists and zoölogists, whose philosophical labors have exhibited the true principle of classification; viz., that *the classification must proceed from the study of the thing to be classified*, and must, by no means, be determined by *a priori* considerations. The real affinities and natural connections presented by objects being allowed to determine their order, the classification itself becomes the expression of the most general fact. And thus does the positive method apply to the classification itself, as well as to the objects included under it. It follows that the

mutual dependence of the sciences—a dependence resulting from that of the corresponding phenomena—must determine the arrangement of the system of human knowledge.

“We must distinguish between the two classes of Natural Science: the *abstract* or general, which have for their object the discovery of the laws which regulate phenomena in all conceivable cases; and the *concrete, particular, or descriptive*, which are sometimes called natural sciences in a restricted sense, whose function it is to apply these laws to the actual history of existing beings. The first are fundamental, and our business is with them alone, as the second are *derived*, and, however important, do not rise into the rank of our subjects of contemplation. We shall accordingly treat of Physiology (Biology), but not of Botany and Zoölogy, which are derived from it. We shall treat of Chemistry, but not of Mineralogy, which is secondary to it.”

Distinction between abstract and concrete sciences

§ 7. Comte applied his principles of classification with the following results:—

Comte's hierarchy of the sciences

“Being thus in possession of our proper subject, duly prescribed, we may proceed to the ascertainment of the true order of the fundamental sciences. There are six, as we shall see. We cannot make them less; and most scientific men would reckon them as more. Six objects admit of 720 different dispositions. Thus we have to choose the right order, and there can be but one right, out of 720 possible ones.

“What we have to determine, in order to find the right arrangement of the six fundamental sciences, is the real dependence of scientific studies. Now this dependence can result only from that of the corresponding phenomena. All observable phenomena may be included within a very few natural categories, so arranged that the study of each category may be grounded on the principal laws preceding, and serve as the basis of the next ensuing. This order is determined by the *degree of simplicity*, or, what amounts to the same thing, of *generality* of the phenomena. Hence results their successive dependence, and the greater or lesser facility for being studied.

Order determined by generality of phenomena

“It is clear that the most simple phenomena must be the most general, for whatever is observed in the greatest number of cases is, of course, the most disengaged from the incidents of particular cases. We must begin, then, with the study of the most general or simple phenomena, going on successively to the more particular or complex.

Mathematics
the funda-
mental or
most general
science

"Having obtained our rule, we proceed to our classification. We must first treat of *Mathematical Science*. In the present state of our knowledge, we must regard Mathematics less as a constituent part of Natural Philosophy than as having been, since the time of Descartes and Newton, the true basis of the whole of Natural Philosophy, though it is, exactly speaking, both the one and the other. In due precision, Mathematics must be divided into two great sciences, quite distinct from each other—Abstract Mathematics and Concrete Mathematics (Geometry and Mechanics). The concrete part is necessarily founded on the abstract, and it becomes, in its turn, the basis of all Natural Philosophy. Therefore must Mathematics hold the first place in the hierarchy of the sciences, and be the point of departure of all education, whether general or special.

Inorganic
more general
than organic
sciences

"When we advance a few more steps, we are struck by the clear division of all natural phenomena into two classes—of *organic* and *inorganic* bodies. The organic are evidently, in fact, more complex and less general than the inorganic, and depend upon them instead of being depended upon by them. It is evidently necessary, therefore, to separate the two studies of *inorganic matter* and of *living bodies*. Each of these great halves of Natural Philosophy has subdivisions. Inorganic Physics must, in accordance with our rule of generality and the order of dependence of phenomena, be divided into two sections—of *celestial* and *terrestrial* phenomena. Thus we have *Astronomy*, geometrical and mechanical, and *Terrestrial Physics*.

Astronomy

Physics

"In the same manner, we find a natural division of *Terrestrial Physics* into two, according as we regard bodies in their *mechanical* or their *chemical* character. Hence we have *Physics*, properly so-called, and *Chemistry*.

Chemistry

"Such are the divisions of the sciences relating to inorganic matter. An analogous division arises in the other half of Natural Philosophy—the science of *organized bodies*. Here we find ourselves presented with two orders of phenomena—those which relate to the individual, and those which relate to the species, especially when it is gregarious. With man, particularly, this distinction is fundamental. The last order of phenomena is evidently dependent on the first, and is more complex. Hence we have two great sections in Organic Physics—*Physiology*, properly so-called, and *Social Physics*, which is dependent on it. In all social phenomena, we perceive the working of the physiological laws of the individual; and, moreover, something which modifies their effects, and which belongs to the influence of individuals over each

Physiology
and
Social Physics
(Sociology)

other — singularly complicated in the case of the human race, by the influence of generations on their successors. Thus it is clear that our social science must issue from that which relates to the life of the individual.

“On the other hand, there is no occasion to suppose, as some eminent physiologists have done, that *Social Physics* is only an appendage to *Physiology*. The phenomena of the two are not identical, though they are homogeneous; and it is of high importance to hold the two sciences separate. As social conditions modify the operation of physiological laws, *Social Physics* must have a set of observations of its own.

Sociology is based upon phenomena peculiar to it

“Thus we have before us five (with Mathematics six) fundamental sciences in successive dependence: (1) Mathematics; (2) Astronomy; (3) Physics; (4) Chemistry; (5) Physiology; (6) Social Physics (Sociology). The first (second) considers the most general, simple, abstract, and remote phenomena known to us, and those which affect all others, without being affected by them. The last considers the most particular, compound, concrete phenomena, and those which are the most interesting to man.”

Recapitulation of the hierarchy

§ 8. It is worth while to quote Comte's own estimate of the value of the above scheme of scientific filiation, covering the whole field of the *Positive Philosophy*. He continues: —

The significance of the hierarchy in Comte's view

“The most interesting property of our formula of gradation is its effect on education, both general and scientific. It will be more and more evident that no science can be effectually pursued without the preparation of a competent knowledge of the anterior sciences on which it depends. Physical philosophers cannot understand Physics without at least a general knowledge of Astronomy, nor chemists without Physics and Astronomy, nor physiologists without Chemistry, Physics, and Astronomy, nor, above all, the student of Social Philosophy, without a general knowledge of all the anterior sciences.

Its educational value

“One more consideration may be briefly adverted to. It is necessary not only to have a general knowledge of all the sciences, but to study them in their order. What can come of a study of complicated phenomena, if the student has not learned, by the contemplation of the simpler, what a *law* is; what it is to *observe*; what a *positive conception* is; and even what a chain of reasoning is? Yet this is the way our young physiologists proceed every day, plunging into the study of living bodies, without any other preparation than a knowledge of a dead lan-

It affords discipline for investigation

guage or two, or at most a superficial acquaintance with Physics and Chemistry, acquired without any philosophical method or reference to any true point of departure in Natural Philosophy. In the same way, with regard to social phenomena, which are yet more complicated, what can be effected but by the rectification of the intellectual instrument, through an adequate study of the range of anterior phenomena? There are many who admit this; but they do not see how to set about the work, nor understand the method itself, for want of the preparatory study; and thus the admission remains barren, and social theories abide in the theological or metaphysical state, in spite of the efforts of those who believe themselves positive reformers."

The relation
of Comte to
Sociology
that of a
herald, not
an oracle

§ 9. The relation of Comte to ultimate, or even to contemporary, Sociology is, nevertheless, similar to that of Patrick Henry to the present Constitution of the United States. All that is of permanent value in the six volumes of the *Positive Philosophy*, and in the four later volumes entitled *System of Positive Polity*, might be reported in a few paragraphs. Comte was not an oracle, but a herald, of Sociology.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, who has been among the severest of Comte's critics, writes the following : —

Tribute of
Spencer

"We must not overlook the greatness of the step made by M. Comte. His mode of contemplating the facts was truly philosophical. Containing, along with special views not to be admitted, many thoughts that are true, as well as large and suggestive, the introductory chapters to his *Sociology* show a breadth and depth of conception beyond any previously reached. Apart from the tenability of his sociological doctrines, his way of conceiving social phenomena was much superior to all previous ways; and among others of its superiorities was its recognition of the dependence of Sociology on Biology." (*Study of Sociology*, p. 329.)

In order to guard against all danger of tempting the student to regard Comte as an authority in Sociology, because of his share in the development of the science, we may adopt the sharp but just language of Mr. Lester F. Ward : —

"The works of Auguste Comte occupy an anomalous position in the history of Philosophy. They may be briefly described in their *ensemble* as embodying, in the exposition of a fundamental truth, the greatest possible number of only less fundamental errors. The essential groundwork of all his reasoning is not only sound and progressive, but it is also, in the main, at least as far as concerns terminology and mode of presentation, new.

Ward's estimate of Comte

"So far as M. Comte's views on Social Statics are concerned, they must be classed as generally unsound; but with him this is nothing new. He seems to possess the rare power, everywhere manifest throughout his works, of weaving upon a warp of truth a woof of error. The iron consistency of his general logic is in strange contrast with the flimsy fallacies that fill out its framework, and stare at the astonished reader from every page. He is a great general in the army of thinkers; but when he descends, as he continually does, to meddle with the brigades, regiments, and platoons, he throws them into confusion by the undue severity and amazing stupidity of his commands." (*Dynamic Sociology*, I. 82, 129.)

§ 10. The history of Sociology since Comte is the history of many distinct influences, the resultant of which is the programme of social investigation perhaps somewhat prematurely called Social Science or Sociology. It is not a betrayal of the science to confess that Sociology is thus far a method, rather than a body of secure results. Only ignoramuses, incompetent to employ the method of any science, could claim for Sociology the merit of a completed system. This manual aims to present the inchoate science as thus far strictly an interrogation of social reality, not a code of matured social doctrines.

Character of the development that Sociology has undergone since Comte

In the present stage of social thought, it is much more important that students of society shall acquire a right habit of inquiry than that they should learn any one's conclusions about social relations. The influences to be mentioned have begotten, on the one hand, healthy suspicion of conventional political philosophies, and, on the other hand, vigorous opposition to any and all agitations which allege the sanctions

Aim of this manual to direct social inquiry

of science for schemes of social salvation by reorganization. Without underestimating the constructive work already accomplished by a few men, it is fair to say that Sociology is just now passing through a stage of struggle for the application of scientific principles of investigation, in place of loose criticism and silly utopianism.

The relative importance of the factors which have produced this result need not be estimated here, nor is it possible to render a brief account of their reciprocal influence while they were coöperating toward the end just described. A short sketch in the next chapter will sufficiently indicate the nature of each principal element to which the recent advancement of the science may be traced.

Enough has been said already, in this report of the beginnings of Sociology, to show that popular conceptions of that department of thought are far from correct. Sociology is not a collection of interesting experiments and opinions concerned with methods of putting the world to rights. Sociology is the philosophy of human welfare. Sociology is not a substitute for knowledge about the phases of nature and of society upon which particular sciences are employed. Sociology is subsequent to all these sciences, and dependent upon them.

Sociology is not, therefore, a resort for social visionaries, so eager to reform social evils that they cannot stop to take advantage of available knowledge of social conditions. Men may be fairly good citizens, who have a very narrow social outlook and a small fund of social knowledge. No one can be a sociologist unless he is prepared to become a diligent learner in every school which interprets a component of social reality.

Sociology is
the philosophy
of human wel-
fare

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. An abstract of the social philosophy expressed or implied in Plato's *Republic*.

2. An abstract of the social philosophy expressed or implied in Aristotle's *Politics*.

3. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Astrology.

4. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Astronomy.

5. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Physics.

6. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Chemistry.

7. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Botany.

8. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Zoölogy.

9. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Anatomy.

10. Progress from arbitrary conceptions toward real knowledge, as illustrated by the history of Medicine.

11. The limitations of science exhibited by Lord Bacon's classification of knowledge. (Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Book II.)

12. The limitations of science exhibited by D'Alembert's classification of knowledge. (Diderot's *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique; Discours préliminaire*.)

13. The strength and the weakness of Comte's *Social Physics*. (*Positive Philosophy*, Book VI.)

14. The extent to which college *curricula* in the United States conform to the educational programme suggested by Comte.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

“The Industrial Revolution” called attention to social conditions

§ 11. The so-called “industrial revolution,” consequent upon the introduction of machinery early in the present century, presented new social phenomena, which arrested attention and aroused earnest interest. Under the feudal régime, and under the semi-patriarchal order of apprenticeship and domestic organization of hand industries, inequalities had existed, and misery was abundant. These evils were not so obtrusive as those which followed when factories concentrated great numbers of a single class of workmen in the same locality. The social and the industrial contrasts between employer and employed became wider and more distinct. At the same time, the intelligence of the laborers was stimulated by the new associations. A more definite class consciousness was developed. Wage workers’ versions of social conditions began to pass from mouth to mouth. The poor man’s impatience of his poverty began to stereotype itself in formal complaints. Brief popular philosophies became the platforms for social agitation. Indictments began to be brought against society by laborers or by their spokesmen. Misfortune not only cried aloud, but it confidently charged its existence to arbitrary social arrangements maintained by the fortunate classes. The poor man’s protest in his own behalf presently, unknown to him, became a demand for Sociology.

Popular philosophies emerged

§ 12. The efforts of sympathetic rather than scientific people to ameliorate social evils prepared the way for Sociology by a process of exclusion. It is, on the whole, a cause for satisfaction that some men have been sanguine enough to believe it practicable to make everybody presently as happy as anybody. These kindly enthusiasts have proposed and partially tested methods of social amelioration, which disregarded certain constant and potent factors in the problem. Their experiments were, to that extent, predestinated to failure.

Efforts of
sympathetic
people pre-
pare the way
for Sociology

These partial failures have, nevertheless, enlarged practical knowledge of the obstacles in the path of human progress, and they have stimulated ambition to master the difficulties. Men of the sort now in mind were dealing with essentially modern forms of the social problem before the time of Comte. In the waning days of the French Revolution, Babeuf staked and lost his life in a conspiracy to overthrow the Directory and substitute a communistic order.

The French
Revolution:
Babeuf

Babeuf saw in personal riches the source of social evils. He would have made the government the overseer of industry. He would have divided the land into small holdings. He would have erected vast storehouses for the products of the soil, from which the government should issue equitable shares to the citizens. He would have retired the precious metals from use as money, except for the purpose of clearances with foreign nations. In brief, he would have abolished all inequality and injustice by virtually reducing social activities, and especially the functions of government, to the regulation of agriculture and barter.

Through these rearrangements, Babeuf believed it possible to abolish the evils assumed in the formula: "The Revolution is not ended so long as the rich absorb all wealth, and exercise exclusive governmental control, while the poor toil

like veritable slaves, only to fall deeper in misery while they are nullities in the state."

The scheme of
Charles
Fourier

Starting from other premises and cherishing plans totally different in external appearance, Charles Fourier imagined and tried to construct an ideal society. Fourier's scheme has been caricatured as a plan to house society in square blocks, each of whose sides should always face the south. Fourier would solve the social problem by application of a Cosmology and a Psychology in which he seemed to have implicit faith, but which was so fantastic that it is difficult to read him soberly. He would group people into economic organizations according to tastes, talents, and dispositions. He would get disagreeable but necessary work done, partly as a novelty, and thus an agreeable occupation for a fraction of each citizen's time ; partly as a means of heightening, by contrast, the agreeableness of other labor ; partly by virtue of its essential attractiveness to persons distinguished for such work by peculiar affinities. He would multiply the productiveness of labor by sympathetic appropriations and combinations of nature's resources. The extravagancies of Fourier's fancy tended to make social agitation both ridiculous and pitiful. On the other hand, they helped to create a demand for social doctrine founded on exact physical and mental science.

Robert Owen's
theories

Hardly less visionary, in the opinion of his contemporaries, but certainly more judicious and practical than Fourier, Robert Owen attempted to combine the sciences of Psychology, of environment, of rational pedagogic method, and of industrial economy into a social policy, which should exhibit to the world a more genuinely human social order. Mr. Owen assumed the rôle of beneficent industrial and social despot. Orange culture in Iceland would fairly parallel his sway at New Lanark. The ideas of popular education which he applied, the standards of public sanitation and morals,

New Lanark

the system of coöperation and profit-sharing were beautiful exotics. Without previous social revolution and evolution they could flourish only under guardianship of the powerful protector.

If Owen had contented himself with philanthropy instead of venturing into Social Philosophy, his life would have made a less dubious impression. His theories discredited his deeds. The work of Owen, however, certainly helped to assure the ultimate subjection of social facts to sympathetic and scientific investigation.

We may mention, finally, in this group, Louis Blanc, in whose programme there was the most precise demand for specific experiment by the government with industrial devices. In 1839, Blanc demanded the organization of political democracy as the basis of industrial democracy, and he was fertile in expedients for realizing the change. In this connection no special proposition need be characterized. Blanc is worth mention here not for the scheme of social workshops, by which he is doubtless most widely known, but rather as a champion of enlarged governmental responsibility. We need not pass judgment on the accuracy of Blanc's social perceptions. His propositions were, at all events, premature, yet they served as another spur to social thought. His abortive attempts to realize right industrial relations in a few model workshops were, in effect, social theses which demanded the investigations of which modern Sociology recognizes the need, from the results of which, together with data derived from wider observation of present industry, Sociology attempts to derive safe social conclusions.

Louis Blanc

§ 13. The group of men in England known as the Christian Socialists, and others who have held similar views without adopting the name, represent a distinct ethical factor which tended to create a more obvious religious demand for Soci-

The
Christian
Socialists
created a de-
mand for
Sociology

Maurice and
Kingsley

ology. The Chartist movement taught J. F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, with less gifted and influential men, to study society in the light of Christian Ethics.

These Christian Socialists of England must be distinguished from the more provincial Christian Socialist Party of Germany. The influence of the former upon social thought has been far wider than the broad church party of the English Establishment. They began to revive the belief that Christianity and the Church have an eminently social meaning and mission. They tried to interpret Christianity in terms of visible social needs. They attempted to solve, by application of Christian principles, the concrete problems which the life of the poorer classes presents.

The faults of
the Christian
Socialists

The faults of the Christian Socialists have been those of zeal without knowledge. They have been more eager to prescribe social remedies than to acquire precise understanding of social conditions. Like certain men who prefer to call themselves Christian Sociologists, they have been inclined to quarrel with economic facts rather than to discover the real meaning of the facts. They have sought to introduce superior motor forces, without sufficiently comprehending existing activities.

Yet the serious purpose and the generous spirit of the men who properly belong in this group have made their influence salutary. To them is doubtless due, in large measure, the lively interest which religious leaders of all denominations are beginning to manifest in the investigation of social problems. The Christian Socialists and their successors in spirit who would disavow the second part of the title, have done good service in maintaining the position that ultimate Sociology must be essentially Christian. They have also aided in developing the opinion that there must be a Sociology before social endeavors can become consistent and coherent.

§ 14. The criticism introduced by Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and William Morris was, in effect, a demand for a Sociology that should be something more than a scheme for getting victuals. To people who still believe that man can live by bread alone, these prophets preached a social gospel of truth and beauty. Wealth, they said, is not in the things possessed, but in the possessors of things. The object of life is rich and bounteous life, not accumulations of goods. Morris said, "The remedy for the evils of civilization is more civilization." Ruskin said, "The true veins of wealth are not in rock, but in flesh. The final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures." Carlyle, with Delphic vagueness, charges men fit for leaders to guide men fit for followers into the realization of larger life.

The influence of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris

Yet these men had little to offer toward social solutions. They enlarged the demand upon Sociology; they exposed the poverty of previous social doctrines; they proposed purer social ideals; they demanded profounder social wisdom. But the problem remains, how shall these desirabilities be realized? Mr. J. S. Mackenzie has said:—

They enlarged the demand upon Sociology

"There are a number of ways in which solutions are being attempted. Among these, one of the most obvious and striking is to be found in the increasing eagerness of our great writers to deal with the problems of social welfare. This feature is conspicuously apparent, for instance, in our recent English writers. Carlyle could not write histories in peace; Ruskin could not criticise art; Morris could not be content to remain 'an idle singer of an empty day'; even Tennyson could not dream among the Lotos-eaters. All have had to pour out their libations to the spirit of social reform. And many more instances might be given, both in England and in other countries. We cannot, however, regard the influence of literary 'Heroes' as a satisfactory means of solving our difficulty. In the first place, it is too incalculable; it is a breath that bloweth where it listeth. In the second place, the writers who are so

effective in their influence on public thought as to become 'uncrowned kings,' are rarely the wisest. When wisdom cries in the streets, no man regards it. And, in the third place, there is, as a general rule, no one who is so wise as to be entitled to be effective in this way. The wisest man is wise only within his own world, and that is never quite coincident with the world of ultimate reality."

**Organized
philanthropy
has promoted
scientific
Sociology**

§ 15. The theory and practice of modern charity, in the restricted sense, must rank as a prime factor in the development of Sociology. In the minds of many, Sociology is nothing else than systematized beneficence toward the helpless elements of society. Of this misconception more will be said in a later chapter. It is true, however, that organized philanthropy has both directly and indirectly promoted scientific Sociology. Experience in administration of relief, in its various forms, has furnished evidence more conclusive than direct argument that science of dependents, defectives, and delinquents depends upon science of the independent, the effective, and the efficient.

**Sociology
primarily a
science of
social health**

While certain phases of social amelioration have thus been so prominent that they have been mistaken for the entire subject matter of Sociology, a new critical method has been applied to the whole plexus of social activities. In the resulting perspective of social relations, the phenomena of dependency appear in the proper proportion of incidents and accidents. Demand becomes consequently the more urgent for an adequate science of the relatively essential and permanent.

**Systematic
Socialism
has made
Sociology a
necessity**

§ 16. Systematic Socialism has both directly and indirectly promoted the development of Sociology. In this proposition, the reference is to all modern criticism which has attacked constituent principles of contemporary social order, and has proposed to remove inequalities by reorganization in the spirit of more inclusive and secure democracy. The term

Socialism is thus used in a very loose sense. It includes all recent attempts to show that contemporary social order is founded or maintained by class interest in violation of justice. Some of the factors already mentioned might be placed wholly or in part under this head. Beside these, we may specify more particularly the doctrinal tendencies represented by Saint Simon, Rodbertus, Proudhon, Bakunin, Marx, and their interpreters and imitators.

Using the term Socialism thus indiscriminately, we find that it stands for deliberate indictments of society, upon charges ranging from allegation of social ignorance to that of social malevolence. It is no part of the purpose of this book to discuss Socialism, except to distinguish it from Sociology. At this point, it is sufficient to remark that Socialism, as here considered, has been mainly negative. It has mercilessly exposed social evils, but it has not been equally positive in proposal of remedies. The camp-followers of Socialism have been eager to proclaim this or that new régime, but the leaders of the attack upon society have hardly provided definite programmes, except in disconnected details, beyond the plan of assault.

Socialism
represents
indictments of
society

Socialism is nevertheless a challenge which society cannot ignore. If the evils alleged by Socialism do not exist, the charges must be refuted. If they do exist, their cause must be discovered. If actual evils are due to conditions which society can control, social programmes must be adopted accordingly.

These indict-
ments cannot
be ignored

These conclusions are so self-evident that their application has followed as a matter of course. Considering the rôle that Socialism has played in nineteenth century thought, Sociology appears to have come into existence less from choice than from necessity. In the Hegelian idiom, conventionality is the thesis, Socialism is the antithesis, Sociology is the synthesis.

Popular Socialism has emphasized the demand for Sociology

§ 17. Popular Socialism has reinforced systematic theory, and has thus emphasized the demand for Sociology. It would be a mistake to suppose that all the people who call themselves Socialists, or who really are Socialists without knowing it, have derived their theories directly from books. Many prominent leaders of socialistic agitation hardly know the names of the theorists mentioned in the last section.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that many of these leaders are thoroughly informed and intelligent. The rank and file of their followers, however, and multitudes who are not consciously following socialistic leadership, have derived their opinions from secondary sources, from class publications, from speeches or conversation, or personal observation and inference.

Modern legislation has influenced socialistic opinion

Much modern legislation has been cause as well as effect of socialistic opinion. Statutes relating to pauperism, factory labor, public improvements, sanitation, bank and insurance inspection, and municipal franchises have propagated belief that governments are capable of much greater service than they now render. When this opinion is confirmed, the transition to Socialism is imperceptible. Whether the transition occurs or not, popular faith that governments have not reached the limits of possible social service creates conditions which make revision of social theories imperative.

Political Economy has created a place for Sociology

§ 18. The development of Political Economy has incidentally created a place for Sociology. There is a sense in which social thought, since Adam Smith, has reverted to a primitive type. In proportion as Political Economy has monopolized interest, social doctrine has gained in intensity, only to lose in extension. Adam Smith's lecture programme, as professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, would hardly satisfy modern criticism; but it is, in general, a survey of the activities which Sociology attempts to correlate.

Smith treated moral phenomena in four groups: Natural Religion, Ethics, Jurisprudence, and Politics. If he could have elaborated his whole plan upon a scale corresponding with that of his completed work in Economics, the result would have been a much more respectable Sociology than many later systems which have claimed that title.

The *Wealth of Nations* alone, however, was not a Sociology; and while the science of Political Economy has been growing more exact and authoritative, there has been persistent dissatisfaction with its results. Political Economy, in Smith's programme, is the science of only a fraction of social activities. Not even the economists themselves, much less the general public, have always preserved this point of view. The ignorant have supposed that Political Economy offers an interpretation of all the motor forces in society. Many economists have evidently adopted the same assumption, and they have failed to see that any other social science is necessary or possible. Their account of social relations has consequently been as inadequate as a treatise on Geology would be if written exclusively from the standpoint of the physicist, or the chemist, or the zoölogist. Unintelligent denunciations of Political Economy as "the dismal science" have been symptoms of popular desire for a larger view of social relations than economic science alone affords. Economic discussions which have attempted to enlarge economic science into a dynamic of human welfare have been partial admissions of the propriety of the popular demand.

John Stuart Mill is notable for his vigorous attempt to reconstruct Political Economy in the philosophical spirit of Adam Smith. In 1848 Mr. Mill wrote:—

Economic activities a part, not all, of social life

John Stuart Mill

"Political Economy, properly so-called, has grown up almost from its infancy since Adam Smith; and the philosophy of society, from which practically that eminent thinker never separated his more peculiar theme, has advanced many steps beyond the point at which he left

it. No attempt, however, has yet been made to combine his practical mode of treating his subject with the increased knowledge since acquired of its theory, or to exhibit the economical phenomena of society in the relation in which they stand to the best social ideas of the present time, as he did, with such admirable success, in reference to the philosophy of his century."

The preface to the work on Political Economy from which the quotation is made concludes with this declaration :—

" Though he (Mr. Mill) desires that his treatise should be more than a mere exposition of the abstract doctrines of Political Economy, he is also desirous that such an exposition should be found in it."

Political Economy should not be extended in scope; but other social sciences should be developed and coördinated

Mr. Mill was so cramped by what Mr. Herbert Spencer would call "the economic bias" that his perception was incomplete, and the most progressive element of his work fell short of its due influence. Precision of thought demanded not an extension of the scope of Political Economy, but the development of parallel social sciences, and the correlation of their phenomena within a comprehensive social philosophy. Subsequent discussions of the province of their science by the economists have defined Mr. Mill's partial perception that economic premises cannot furnish final social conclusions; but that economic facts comprise only a single fraction of social reality.

The consequence is that demand emerges for a conspectus of all the constituent factors of social reality. Sociology is the response to this demand. Just as knowledge of the human individual involves knowledge of physical and chemical and vital and psychical facts, so knowledge of human society presupposes not only knowledge of the individual, but of the interdependent phases of social activity, of which the industrial phase, whatever its relative importance, is after all only one among many.

§ 19. Sociology is in part a product of the critical method which has become standard in historical investigation since Niebuhr's reconstruction of Roman History. Sociology is related to the old Philosophies of History much as modern Psychology to the antecedent Mental Philosophies. While the division of labor upon social phenomena is, as yet, very poorly systematized, the essential similarities of certain groups of facts have determined many lines of research. Parallel with the discrimination of elements in contemporary society, referred to in the last section, investigation of comparative civilizations has resulted in distinguishing similar social factors active in peculiar forms, and in varying proportions, throughout the life of the race.

Sociology partly a result of modern historical criticism

Neither of the causes thus enumerated has acted alone, therefore, in producing Sociology. Neither of them has given its exclusive stamp to the new science. Sociology conforms its methods and its aims to purposes prescribed by the combination and coöperation of these factors.

§ 20. Among the scores, and possibly hundreds, of books which have attempted, since Comte, to continue scientific treatment of general Sociology, a very small number have made important contributions to sociological method, and deserve mention consequently as waymarks in the progress of the science.

Sociology has taken tentative shape in a few systematic treatises

First in order among the specially notable authors was Herbert Spencer. In 1850, he published *Social Statics*, a book that proves to have been practically a collection of social theses which, in his youthful enthusiasm, he promulgated as theorems that he expected to demonstrate. As was to be anticipated, this prospectus of Spencer's Sociology contained many things which required subsequent modification. *Social Statics* does not exhibit Mr. Spencer's social method as definitely as it appears in *First Principles*, pub-

Spencer's *Social Statics*

First Principles

lished in 1862. Beginning with Section III of *First Principles*, Mr. Spencer illustrates his method of interpreting the facts of social growth up to the present in terms of the evolutionary hypothesis.

*Descriptive
Sociology and
Principles of
Sociology*

Social data were evidently too meager for anything beyond illustration, and this discovery led to the plan, first announced in 1867, of collecting and tabulating the available facts about primitive races, as well as those facts which exhibit successive stages of culture in civilized nations. The first set of tables in the series *Descriptive Sociology* was issued in 1873, and seven similar collections followed. These summaries of social facts were intended to furnish material for the *Principles of Sociology*, of which the first volume appeared in 1876, and the second in 1879. The latest deliverance of Mr. Spencer upon Sociology is *Principles of Ethics*, which virtually supersedes the precocious *Social Statics*.

Criticism of
Spencer

Spencer's Sociology ends precisely where Sociology proper should begin. De Greef, a Belgian sociologist, has very justly asserted that Mr. Spencer not only fails to show that there is a place for Sociology, but his own reasoning proves more than anything else that there is no social science superior to Biology. It is true that Mr. Spencer's interpretation of social facts reduces the scope of Sociology to description of what is and has been, with an outline, in his statical or ethical theory, of what will be when a perfect society has been evolved. There is no room in his system for the theory and application of active, in addition to passive Social Dynamics. Such Sociology can have no more direct influence upon human progress than a census of the waves of the ocean could have upon the speed of ships.

Spencer's
indirect
influence

The indirect influence of Mr. Spencer's Sociology must be large and lasting. He has set a high standard for the descriptive social sciences. He has taught the method of observation and generalization in brilliant examples. He

has arranged known social facts in such order that they make further observation and arrangement easier. He has proposed conclusions, which may be uncertain, but a safer philosophical structure than Mr. Spencer's must use a large part of the foundation which he has laid.

Spencer matured a method which Comte could only by a very narrow margin save from contempt. It is remarkable that French thought shows so little of Comte's influence. The next sociological effort of a high order in France does not seem to be indebted to Comte at all.

The man to whom the most zealous French sociologists look to-day for instruction in social method is Le Play. His first treatise, *European Workmen*, appeared in 1855. The book which appears to have made his fame was published in 1864, under the title, *Social Reform in France*. After the Franco-Prussian War, this book suddenly took almost the rank of inspired prophecy. In it Le Play had pointed out corrupt and corrupting conditions, and had foretold the consequences of unsocial tendencies in terms which the results of the war almost literally verified. Le Play became and remains an oracle to a numerous school of disciples.

Le Play's
Social Reform
in France

To the more conservative of these followers, Le Play is the revealer of certain ultimate truths about society, which it is their aim to apply and realize in social organization. To the more critical of his adherents he is the inventor of a method of social investigation, which it is their purpose to perfect and employ in further research. The method consists in the examination of the budget of workingmen's families, the classification of expenditures, and the derivation of such conclusions as the statistics of household finance in wage-earners' families can furnish.

The "monograph method" was extended to studies of laborers' families in different countries, and the publication

The mono-
graph method
of Le Play

was continued by the Society of Social Economy, under the title, *The Workingmen of the Two Worlds*. In the conception of the inventor, the method has broader applications than the majority of his imitators could comprehend; and it has resulted thus far in the accumulation of a badly assorted mass of facts, of which comparatively little scientific use can be made. The younger school of Le Play's disciples have discovered not only this defect, but the necessity of studying the family structure itself; other domestic phenomena besides those that can be expressed in francs and centimes; and other strata of society besides the wage workers. Thus the method of Le Play is the line of departure for some of the most zealous and intelligent social investigators in France and their work will have an important influence upon the future of Sociology.

Lilienfeld's
Thoughts
upon the
Social Science
of the Future

Meanwhile, German scientific thought had cautiously approached modern phases of social problems. In 1873, Paul von Lilienfeld published the first of four volumes under the general title, *Thoughts upon the Social Science of the Future*. The special titles of the several volumes were: 1, *Human Society as a Real Organism*; 2, *The Structural Principles of Society*; 3, *Social Psycho-physics*; 4, *Social Physiology*.

Lilienfeld's point of departure is dissatisfaction with the results of conventional Social Philosophy. He abandoned the traditional dogmatic methods of social interpretation, because their results seemed so meager; and proposed to substitute a science of society which should take advantage of the results of inductive natural science both for explanation of the past and the present of society, and for construction of an ideal toward which social endeavor should aim. The conception at the basis of Lilienfeld's attempt is contained in the proposition: "Human society, like physical organisms, is a real entity; it is nothing more than a con-

Human
society a con-
tinuation of
nature

tinuation of nature, it is only a higher expression of the same energies which underlie all natural phenomena."

The implications of Lilienfeld's thesis were not only an advance upon the conceptions of Spencer's *First Principles*, but they included more definite conceptions of the function of psychical factors in social progress than Mr. Spencer has ever admitted. Lilienfeld proposes the method of social investigation to which this book is an introduction. His work is neither so successful that students can go to it for results, nor so unsuccessful that it is obsolete and unworthy of study. As a preparation for independent investigation, it would be profitable to follow Lilienfeld through his preliminary survey of social relations. Lilienfeld may have said no final word about the immanent economies of society. He has at least helped to establish the necessity of seeking those economies, not among abstract conceptions, but in the structure and conduct of the active personal elements of society.

Estimate of
Lilienfeld

In 1874 the Austrian statesman, Schäffle, began to publish the monumental work entitled *Structure and Life of the Social Body*. In the preface to the first edition, the author modestly announces his purpose to follow out the method proposed and applied by Comte, Littré, Spencer, and Lilienfeld. At this point it will be sufficient to mention Schäffle simply as a developer of a scientific process already well begun. He carries the method of real analysis, guided by the analogies of Biology, far beyond the applications of his predecessors. His aim was not so much to describe social phenomena as to expound them through the discovery of functional relations. He found the necessary explanations in the analogies of Histology, Anatomy, Physiology, and Psychology.

Schäffle's
*Structure
and Life of
the Social
Body*

In the facts of these relations, Schäffle discovered a foundation for Constructive Sociology. The functional adapta-

Schäffle's
theory and
method

tions of social parts disclosed to him the beginnings of ultimate Social Ethics ; that is, complete adaptation of social action to functional demand. Schäffle's aim, therefore, is not merely analytic, but synthetic. He dissects society in order to discover the immanent needs and possibilities of society, which knowledge shall in turn become the foundation for intelligent social endeavor. Schäffle pushes the investigation of Social Psychology far beyond the frontier reached by his predecessors, and thus makes the most important addition to the foundation courses of Sociology.

Schäffle and
Le Play con-
trasted

Le Play and Schäffle represent the poles of sociological method. Constructive Sociology must coördinate the contrasted processes and their results. Scientific solution of major or minor social problems involves, first, precise knowledge of particulars ; and second, interpretation of particulars by their relation to the life of the whole. This handbook does not attempt to guide students into such precise use of Schäffle's method that ultimate results will be reached. In this preliminary survey of social relations, the aim is to familiarize students with the more general conceptions which the method employs, and to induce the habit of regarding all social phenomena as normal or abnormal, progressive or retrogressive, constructive or destructive incidents in the realization of immanent social economy.

Ward's
Dynamic
Sociology

It is a patriotic as well as a scientific duty to mention finally the most important American contribution to Systematic Sociology. Professor Lester F. Ward published, in 1883, two volumes entitled *Dynamic Sociology, or Applied Social Science, as based upon Statical Sociology, and the Less Complex Sciences*. In 1893, an elaboration of the most original portion of the earlier work appeared under the title, *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*. In two respects the work of Ward is an immeasurable advance upon that of Spencer, with which it is properly to be compared. In the

first place, Sociology, according to Spencer, is, as remarked above, essentially and solely descriptive. Sociology according to Ward is, on the contrary, teleological. "Dynamic Sociology aims at the organization of happiness." In the second place, social evolution, according to Spencer, is differentiated by no essential peculiarity from evolution in general. According to Ward, on the other hand, social evolution is distinctively a psychical product; "society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon mind, which is the highest property of matter."

An advance
upon Spencer

It must be noticed that Mr. Ward regards mind as the highest known power of matter. He must not be understood to treat matter and mind as antithetical. His advance upon Spencer in this respect is, therefore, analogous with that of an observer who discerns a determining vital or chemical factor in phenomena which had been treated as purely physical.

Ward a
monist

It is not necessary to agree with Ward about the essence of mind, in order to use his exposition of mental function in social progress. Whether mind is a property of matter, or an energy distinct from matter, is a question of purely speculative interest to sociologists, if both sides concede that the psychical is potent over the non-psychical. Although Ward's Monism and his Social Psychology form a coherent and continuous system, the most confident Dualist might adopt Ward's exposition of social phenomena without modifying his dualistic presumption.

The monistic
philosophy
need not affect
sociological
analysis

Nor is it necessary, in order to make constructive use of Ward's work, to accept his classification of psychical phenomena, or his interpretation of the relations of those psychical activities which are popularly distinguished as mental, and moral, or spiritual. Whether Ward is right or wrong about these particulars, conservative thinkers have committed a costly blunder in assuming that they have nothing in

Ward's Sociol-
ogy valuable
independent
of his Psy-
chology

common with him because of his iconoclasm toward cherished beliefs. Nobody is competent to deal at first hand with sociological problems, who cannot distinguish between the principle of Social Dynamics that Ward expounds, and the logically independent details of Individual or Social Psychology with reference to which his conclusions may be disputed.

The merit of Ward's work is, then, in brief, his demonstration of the essentially psychical basis of social phenomena. "The dynamic department of Psychology becomes also that of Sociology the moment we rise from the individual to society. The social forces are the psychic forces as they operate in the collective state of man."

If the purpose in view in the foregoing sketch has been in any measure accomplished, it is apparent that many people are dabbling with Sociology who lack both the talent and the training requisite for investigation of social principles. One of the chief aims of this manual is to disturb the conceit that anybody who pleases may be a sociologist. As was hinted at the close of the last chapter, it is practicable for men who can understand neither Biology nor Psychology to become better citizens by right use of certain elementary methods of social observation and inference. It is not practicable for men who are incapable of wide generalization and precise discrimination to construct rational social programmes.

There is a somewhat prevalent popular notion that Sociology is a labor-saving device for knowing everything without learning anything. The object of this book is to show that social facts may be known more intelligently by everybody who is willing to observe and reflect; but general social doctrines can be justified only by the most minute research, by application of criticism appropriate to each element of fact which enters into the phenomena, and by

Sociology
more than a
polite accom-
plishment

combination of the most diverse results into a symmetrical representation of society as a complex whole. It is not desirable that every public-spirited person should attempt to construct, or even to reconstruct, social philosophies. It is practicable, however, for every person, wise enough to take intelligent interest in social welfare; to become capable of employing a scientific and philosophic method, within the limits of personal experience, and of using the results of wider inductions with good social effect. In exceptional cases only would the authors of this manual encourage a more ambitious purpose.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The social problems presented by the "industrial revolution."
2. The elements of impracticability in Babeuf's programme.
3. The elements of impracticability in Fourier's programme.
4. Show, from criticism of Owen's works, whether his philanthropy was better than his philosophy.
5. The elements of impracticability in the programme of Louis Blanc.
6. The strength and the weakness of Chartism.
7. The substance of Charles Kingsley's social doctrines.
8. The type of social aspiration represented by Arnold Toynbee.
9. The social philosophy expressed and implied in Ruskin's *Unto This Last*.
10. What unauthorized assumptions are involved in Socialism, as represented by Schäffle's *Quintessence of Socialism*?
11. To what extent are demands for enlarged state functions factors in the present politics of the United States?
12. Show, from Adam Smith's writings, how he regarded the relation of economic to other social phenomena.
13. Show, from John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy*, (a) what extra economic problems the author thought it necessary for economic science to investigate; (b) why Mr. Mill's attempt to widen the scope of Political Economy was unsuccessful.
14. Explain the purpose and method of Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, and estimate the value of its contribution to Social Philosophy.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO THE SPECIAL SOCIAL SCIENCES

Sociology is the synthesis of all the particular social sciences

§ 21. A process of reorganization and redistribution of subject-matter is in progress among the social sciences, and for that reason it is impossible to speak most accurately of these in a few words under their usual names. Their titles have different meanings in the usage of different authors. They may be treated more precisely by reference to the phenomena with which they deal.

This synthesis demands a new order of experts

Whatever may be the ultimate assignment of territory to the several social sciences, there will always be need of bringing the results together into an exposition of society as a whole. Systematic knowledge of society in general is essential if a definite programme of social endeavor is desired. It is evident, too, that this work of combination will be performed most judicially, not by experts in the processes of investigation peculiar to the special social sciences, but by men trained to be experts in codifying the results of the special social sciences, and in organizing these groups of scientific data into a coherent social philosophy.

The primary function of Sociology at present is the correlation of existing knowledge about society. This work involves the discovery of unexplored regions of social phenomena, and the invention of plans for more effective social research and then for social endeavor.

(It is quite possible that the division of labor in Sociology

will eventually become so systematized that the function of Sociology will be restricted within more precise limits.) At present, a miscellaneous responsibility confronts students who regard society philosophically. Such students are in the ranks of all the social sciences. Sociology is enlisting from this number recruits for the special work of organizing social knowledge of all kinds into a body of wisdom available as a basis for deliberate social procedure. What effect Sociology may have upon reclassification of the social sciences, and upon its own permanent office, we need not conjecture. We shall describe the complicated scientific task which Sociology at present attempts to perform.

Sociology demands the organization of social knowledge

Society is a complex of activities and movements originated by the energy of those physical and psychical attributes which determine human motives. These elementary factors of social activity produce social phenomena that fall into groups, each of which is distinguished by certain common peculiarities. Society cannot be known through one group of these phenomena only, any more than matter can be known through a single one of its properties. Each of these groups of facts must be known separately, and then in its actual relation to coexisting groups, before society or social life can be understood.

This fact may, perhaps, be more easily perceived by aid of a chemical analogy. To know a chemical compound it is necessary to be informed about its separate constituents, the nature of the reaction in which they combine, and the properties of the resultant. However inadequate our present subdivisions of social knowledge, each of them is an attempt to reduce the facts within a single group of social phenomena to scientific expression. The several social sciences thus roughly supplement and complement each other. Our general survey will show the necessity of the combining function which Sociology undertakes.

An analogy from Chemistry

Sociology is
primarily
historical
and
analytical

§ 22. Sociology is primarily historical and analytical. In this phase of its character, Sociology is most obviously dependent upon the sciences that are commonly regarded as distinctively social. Sociology includes these historical and analytical social sciences somewhat as the map of the United States includes the maps of the several states. All that is accurate in the general map with respect to local details depends upon particular surveys. These first furnish the data for construction of the maps of states, and then the separate surveys are reduced and combined into a general map. Knowledge of society, as a fact extending through the past and filling the present, depends upon particular knowledge of persons, events, and achievements past and present, in all the relations in which they have a permanent meaning.

Sociology
involves
knowledge of
man as an
animal

§ 23. Historical and analytical Sociology involves, first, the results of the sciences concerned with physical man. Assuming a basis of knowledge about the inorganic and organic environment upon which man is dependent, or by which man is more or less conditioned, the sociologist needs, in the first place, to know as much as possible about man, as described by the biological sciences. Man as the subject-matter of "the highest section of Zoölogy"—man as the most highly developed of animals, particularly as the most highly developed nervous and psycho-physical type—is the primary datum of Sociology.

Not problems of individual health alone, nor policies respecting the criminal or defective classes, wait upon the testimony of Biology for partial solution. Interpretation of the biological elements of human progress throughout the past will unlock many secrets about education and social combinations in the present. The biologist may or may not pursue his investigations for the purpose of contributing to

the solution of social problems. Whatever his purpose, if his results throw any light upon the facts of man's physical constitution, he is necessarily a contributor to Sociology. It is not the business of the sociologist to invade the province of the biologist with attempts to take the place of competent investigators. It is the business of the sociologist to recognize the physical elements in social reactions, to call them to the attention of the biologists, if the latter are not already concerned with them, and to use the results of biological research, together with all other related evidence, in such explanation of the past as will afford guidance for the future.

The sociologist
uses the results
of biological
research

Sociology deals with the whole of social life, of which the physical life of individuals is necessarily a prime factor. This platitude contains the implication which has not been admitted until recently; viz., that Sociology deals with a complex of elements, one of which can be understood only through the expositions of Biology. Social doctrine, which omits to take account of all available biological data, is obviously partial and premature. In this sense, Sociology is biological somewhat as Mineralogy is chemical.

§ 24. The facts about man referred to in the foregoing paragraph constitute, on the other hand, only one element in the complex problem with which Sociology deals. A second element consists of the results obtained by the sciences concerned with psychical man. None of the methods or processes peculiar to Biology can discover the facts which most widely differentiate man from the other animals. Tracing nerve filaments can never discover a thought, nor can the measurement of skulls detect the play of emotions. Man as capable of distinct conceptions, of feelings, of volitions,—man as mind characterized by certain peculiarities, and acting in conformity with certain

Sociology
involves
knowledge of
man as a
thinking
animal

psychical laws, — is the object of another kind of observation, which will lead to unique results.

The gestures, signs, and symbols which men have used ; their words, their worship, their music, their laws, their literatures, their philosophies, their religions, are not merely curious in themselves, but they are betrayals of the psychical character of their originators. There is a study of man's mental productions which is as trifling as the mere collecting of curios. It is possible to read Isaiah, and Homer, and Cicero, and Shakespeare to less purpose than might be served by interpreting the rudest hieroglyphics.

The study of mind, as it appears in its monuments, whether these be in the form of inscriptions, or legends, or juridical codes, or national literatures, or social customs, is the investigation of another prime factor in the social problem. Sociology is dependent upon such study of man's mental products as will interpret the essential psychical traits which they exhibit. Sociology accordingly places an estimate of its own upon a whole group of sciences or possible sciences, which are needed to deal with mental products as evidences of permanent mental characteristics. Sociology depends upon the sciences of man's mind, just as upon the sciences of man's body.

Sociology
depends upon
the sciences of
mind

All the divisions of scientific labor which observe and classify and generalize the traits of man, the thinking animal, as exhibited in human thought products of every sort, will place Sociology in possession of one more approximately known quantity in the equation of life. Sociology, in turn, will react upon the investigation of special mental phenomena, as of all other facts relating to man. Sociology exhibits the totality of life, in which all special facts have their relations ; and thus performs a function of correlation, by maintaining a constant demand that the facts shall be viewed at last, not as isolated and independent,

but in their actual social subordination and dependence and integration.

§ 25. A third element of sociological data consists of the facts about man in the exercise of control over natural forces. Impossible as it would be to study man in any single phase of his many-sided nature without reference to the other phases, it is not only possible, but serviceable, to employ these arbitrary distinctions between interrelated manifestations of human character and capacity. Knowledge of man, in either of the phases here distinguished, would be incomplete without evidence derived from observation of the other phases. With full regard for this actual interdependence, and even identity of phenomena, whose meaning has to be derived from observation of different relations, we make a separate division for knowledge about man as a creator of material objects.

Sociology involves knowledge of man as a creating animal ✓

Man's works disclose a factor or a system of factors in social combinations which must have a place in sociological doctrine in precise adjustment with knowledge of man's physical and psychical peculiarities. The sociological study of the products of man's handicraft is not proposed as the only method of investigating human industries, nor is the sociological purpose the only worthy aim in considering the results of human creative skill. Technical comparison of processes and products, both in the industrial and in the fine arts, has economic advantages when the comparisons are between the works of various epochs and races, just as in case they are between exhibits of competing manufacturers in a modern world's exposition. Utilitarian and æsthetic criteria of many kinds may properly separate and estimate the results of human workmanship under various categories. Sociology finds its particular use for that investigation of man's works which attempts to derive conclusions

The study of human handicraft

Permanent industrial desires and abilities

about man's typical and permanent industrial desires and abilities.

Thus, while investigation of man in other respects brings into view man's creative processes and products, there is a special division of knowledge about man to be derived from study of the results of man's technical skill. Man's abodes, clothes, tools, weapons, utensils, ornaments, monuments, instruments of amusement or luxury, artistic creations, and industrial processes, form a body of facts, from which both history and prophecy about the industrial factor in human problems may be derived. Sociology thus depends, again, upon the knowledge of man, which shall be derived by the sciences that are devoted to the inspection of man's material works.

Sociology involves knowledge of man as a coöperating animal

De Greef's definition of "contract" modified to "contact"

§ 26. Historical and analytical Sociology is constructed, finally, by use of a fourth class of data, which represent man in his peculiarly social characteristics. De Greef, to whom reference has already been made, who is to be credited with most important contributions to the study of society, finds the special province of Sociology in the phenomena of "contract." The term is not happily chosen, because in this connection it is inexact unless employed with an unusual meaning. If De Greef's conception of the term "contract" be kept in mind, he will be seen, however, to have added definiteness to one notion of the province of Sociology. It would be more correct, though still vague, to say that Sociology deals especially with the phenomena of *contact*. The reactions which result from voluntary or involuntary contact of human beings with other human beings, are the phenomena peculiarly social, as distinguished from the phenomena belonging properly to Biology and Psychology. Some of these will have been observed in connection with the groups of facts already

mentioned. There remain unique classes of social facts which we may distinguish, in general, as facts of coöperation.

When men find themselves in proximity to other men, they instinctively attempt to adjust themselves to necessities or advantages which the association involves or permits. The activities properly called social may be said to consist of acquiescence in the requirements of physical and psychological contact between human beings, and appropriation of the opportunities of such contact between human beings.

The phenomena of coöperation

In calling attention specifically to man as a coöperating animal, the reference is to those social facts which arise when men begin to take conscious account of each other, in attack and defense, purchase and sale, mastery and obedience, emulation, rivalry, organization, authority, persuasion, assent and dissent, with all further relations involving volitional combinations of man and man. The whole institutional activity of man, viewed as attempted solutions of the problem of social adjustment, is an exhibition of the necessity and the capacity of man for coöperation. The various conventional relations of the sexes, the industrial structures, the divisions of caste, the arrangements for exchange of intelligence, the religious establishments, the political organizations, are significant to the sociologist as manifestations, on the one hand, of human wants in the most numerous and complex permutations, and on the other hand, of the limitations and possibilities of the human forces whose action and reaction it is the aim of Sociology first to understand, and afterwards to formulate into a philosophy of welfare.

The institutional activity of man: conventional arrangements

§ 27. The title *Descriptive Sociology* may be accepted as the best designation for the body of organized knowledge called for by the schedule in the preceding sections. Our classification of the material out of which the ultimate

The phenomena thus far considered are those of Descriptive Sociology

Sociology must be constructed is intentionally untechnical, for the reason assigned in the first paragraph of this chapter.

Without accepting any proposed terminology or classification of the sciences dealing with the same material from different points of view, we may epitomize the last section in the propositions: Sociology, in its historical and analytical department, or Descriptive Sociology, is the organization of all the positive knowledge of man and of society furnished by the sciences and sub-sciences now designated or included under the titles Biology, Anthropology, Psychology, Ethnology, Demography, History, Political and Economic Science, and Ethics. Descriptive Sociology attempts to combine the testimony of these special sciences into a revelation of the accidental and the permanent factors in social combinations, and thus of the forces to be taken into calculation in all doctrines or policies of social progress.

Nearly half a century ago, Mr. Herbert Spencer drew up specifications of the kinds of knowledge needed as a foundation for Sociology. Although it is a catalogue and not a classification, and although it pays no heed to division of labor among the social sciences, Mr. Spencer's outline of the desirable contents of Descriptive Sociology deserves to be quoted : —

Descriptive Sociology attempts to combine the data of the special social sciences

Spencer's outline of Descriptive Sociology

“That which constitutes History, properly so called, is in great part omitted from works on this subject. Only of late years have historians commenced giving us, in any considerable quantity, the truly valuable information. As in past ages the king was everything and the people nothing, so in past histories, the doings of the king fill the entire picture, to which the national life forms but an obscure background. While only now, when the welfare of nations rather than of rulers is becoming the dominant idea, are historians beginning to occupy themselves with the phenomena of social progress. The thing it really concerns us to know is the Natural History of society. We want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organized itself. Among these, let us of course have an account of its government; with as little

Demand for the Natural History of society

as may be of gossip about the men who officered it, and as much as possible about the structure, principles, methods, prejudices, corruptions, etc., which it exhibited; and let this account include not only the nature and actions of the central government, but also those of local governments, down to their minutest ramifications. Let us of course have a parallel description of the ecclesiastical government — its organization, its conduct, its power, its relations to the state; and, accompanying this, the ceremonial, creed, and religious ideas — not only those nominally believed, but those really believed and acted upon. Let us at the same time be informed of the control exercised by class over class, as displayed in social observances — in titles, salutations, and forms of address. Let us know, too, what were all the other customs which regulated the popular life out-of-doors and indoors, including those concerning the relations of the sexes, and the relations of parents to children. The superstitions, also, from the more important myths down to the charms in common use, should be indicated. Next should come a delineation of the industrial system; showing to what extent the division of labor was carried; how trades were regulated, whether by caste, guilds, or otherwise; what was the connection between employers and employed; what were the agencies for distributing commodities; what were the means of communication; what was the circulating medium. Accompanying all which, should be given an account of the industrial arts technically considered; stating the processes in use, and the quality of the products. Further, the intellectual condition of the nation in its various grades should be depicted; not only with respect to the kind and amount of education, but with respect to the progress made in science, and the prevailing manner of thinking. The degree of æsthetic culture, as displayed in architecture, sculpture, painting, dress, music, poetry, and fiction, should be described. Nor should there be omitted a sketch of the daily lives of the people — their food, their homes, and their amusements. And, lastly, to connect the whole, should be exhibited the morals, theoretical and practical, of all classes, as indicated in their laws, habits, proverbs, deeds. These facts, given with as much brevity as consists with clearness and accuracy, should be so grouped and arranged that they may be comprehended in their *ensemble*, and contemplated as mutually dependent parts of one great whole. The aim should be so to present them that men may readily trace the *consensus* subsisting among them, with the view of learning what social phenomena coexist with what others. And then the corresponding delineations of succeeding ages

Ecclesiastical government should be explained

Also controlling customs

The industrial systems should be explained

And the intellectual conditions

Private and public morals

A moving panorama

should be so managed, as to show how each belief, institution, custom and arrangement was modified, and how the *consensus* of preceding structures and functions was developed into the *consensus* of succeeding ones. Such alone is the kind of information, respecting past times, which can be of service to the citizen for the regulation of his conduct. The only History that is of practical value is what may be called Descriptive Sociology. And the highest office which the historian can discharge is that of so narrating the lives of nations as to furnish materials for a Comparative Sociology, and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform."

Sociology
must com-
mand the
précise facts
involved in
social rela-
tions

§ 28. Mr. Spencer's identification of History and Descriptive Sociology is far from final, but our purpose does not require discussion of the division of labor among the social sciences. The classes of details which Mr. Spencer enumerates, rather suggestively than exhaustively, are doubtless portions of the material with which Sociology must deal, and if the actual importance of this material is justly appraised, it is of secondary importance to formulate the respective relations of History and Sociology to the common subject-matter.

For our purpose, it is necessary and sufficient to point out once more that the fundamental question of Sociology — namely, What are the precise facts involved in social relations? — can be answered only by generalization of all the evidence about man and society that is obtainable by combination of the historical and the analytical method. History, as usually written, exhibits facts in all their accidental form and environment, so far as the latter can be reproduced. History, as exhibited in Descriptive Sociology, omits the accidents of time, place, personality; and emphasizes the typical and the characteristic in social facts.

History and
Descriptive
Sociology dis-
tinguished

Another customary, though by no means necessary, difference between Historiography and Sociology appears in the fact that the former deals preferably with the order and sequence of events, and with the exhibition of cause and

effect; the latter treats the same facts rather as exhibiting normal or abnormal conditions, permanent or temporary forms of social structures and functions. It is quite possible that the anthropologist, the ethnologist, or the historian may at last perform all the work in this field which the sociologists are beginning to undertake. The scientific principle to be insisted on is, that whoever does the work, or under whatever name, there is need of that contribution to knowledge which Descriptive Sociology can now offer only as a prospectus; viz., a combination of all the descriptive data furnished by the special sciences of society into a body of knowledge fit to serve as the basis of Constructive Social Philosophy.

Sociology may eventually be distributed among the social sciences

§ 29. The department of sociological method to which this manual is an introduction is entirely included within Descriptive Sociology, as above characterized. For that reason, we may dismiss, in a few words, the scientific relations of the later divisions of Sociology.

Sociology is not only historical and descriptive, but critical and ideal

Knowledge of reality passes directly and naturally into conceptions of the contained possibility. A body of generalized facts about man and society immediately suggests ideal constructions of the included elements. The questions spontaneously arise: Are the facts rationally related? Are the elements of social combinations adjusted in accordance with immanent economies? Is there a possible criterion of social coördination, by the use of which we may conclude with reference to a given fact, or social group, or civilization, that it is more or less normal than some other actual or imaginable social phenomenon with which it may be contrasted?

Is there a possible criterion of social coördination?

The work which Sociology begins to perform, in attempting a synthesis of known social facts, would be profitless without the use of the combined and generalized facts for

Social Statics

constructive purposes. While the fundamental procedure of Sociology is that already discussed as the province of Descriptive Sociology—namely, the scientific exhibition of facts—there is a second process that calls for a distinct division of Sociology, to which the name Statical Sociology, or Social Statics, best applies. The conception of Statical Sociology, to which the method of this book leads, corresponds in form, but not in content, with that of Herbert Spencer; it is the doctrine of the “equilibrium of a perfect society.” This use of terms is in sharp contrast with that of Comte.

The scope of
Statical Sociology

While Sociology is primarily concerned with social facts, it uses them as the raw material of social ideals. There is a conception of Sociology, in which ideals have no more place than in the science of Geology. In spite of his recent protestations, Herbert Spencer makes of Sociology, at most, only a descriptive science of conditions upon which human ideals can have hardly more influence than they can upon climate. The sciences of pure fact are the foundation of all the arts, but they are not themselves the arts. Unless Mathematics and Physics and Chemistry and Biology taught us what to avoid and what to attempt, they would avail no more toward increase of human welfare than the rules of the game of chess or the genealogies of the British Peerage.

The relation
of the science
of fact to
human welfare

The justification
of Sociology according
to Wagner

The physical sciences have steadily gained in men's esteem, because they have interpreted the conditions within which human tasks must be undertaken, the possibilities which human effort might hope to realize, and the resources available for accomplishing human purposes. Sociology would be a sterile pursuit if it did not at least supplement the physical sciences in development of the art of life. Professor Wagner of Berlin has lately said: “Social Science is justified by two suppositions—first, that ideals may be

formed which are in the line of advancing welfare ; second, that economic and other facts with which welfare is concerned are capable of more or less modification by exercise of the human will."

Sociology is, accordingly, not the abortive affair which Herbert Spencer has made it appear. Sociology is, first, we must repeat, the synthesis of all that has been learned about society, as it has been, and as it is, in its structure and in its essence. "Sociology is, second, the science of social ideals ; it is a qualitative and approximate account of the society which ought to be. By universal consent, inquiry about what ought to be has been made the task of Ethics. Statical Sociology is, therefore, an ethical discipline. Social Statics is, in brief, Social Ethics."

Social Statics
is, in brief,
Social Ethics

It will be seen, however, that the method of Statical Sociology here contemplated is the method of inspection and induction, not that of speculation. Statical Sociology is, in a further sense, a synthesis of antecedent sciences. Statical Sociology is the exhibition of the withheld completions of society. Social facts being given in Descriptive Sociology, it is a subsequent scientific process to exhibit the social ideals which the facts implicitly contain. This process has little in common with the methods of the many well-meaning but unscientific social agitators, who have experimented and dogmatized upon social problems with such unconsciousness of the complexities involved, that they have brought all investigation of social ameliorative possibilities under suspicion of Quixotism.

Statical Sociology is a
synthesis of
antecedent
sciences

There is a method of Statical Sociology which is not the imagination of Utopias. Scientific coördination of social material does not exploit dreams of what might be if essential facts were other than they are. It does not waste time upon fancies of life that might be led if laziness were the condition of affluence, or if ignorance were the passport to

Statical Sociology is a constructive use of the materials of Descriptive Sociology

influence, or if altruism were earlier in order of evolution than egoism. Statical Sociology is a critical and constructive use of the materials of Descriptive Sociology. It takes account of the demonstrated facts and forces of society, of individuals, and of inanimate nature, in so far as the latter determines social possibilities. From this material it derives systematized knowledge of the neglected economies of life, and thereupon a symmetrical ideal of the social life in which immanent social potencies shall be realized.

Sociology is, moreover, constructive and technical

§ 30. The third main division of Sociology, the portion to which the other divisions are introductory, deals with the theory of active Social Dynamics. The ultimate task of Sociology was expounded in a masterly way by Mr. Ward in his earlier work. In the preface he writes : —

Quotation from Ward

“Sociology is reproached even by those who admit its legitimacy with being impracticable and fruitless, the prevailing methods of treating it, including those employed by its highest living advocates, to a great extent justifying this charge. There are dead sciences as well as dead languages. The real object of science is to benefit man. A science which fails to do this, however agreeable its study, is lifeless. Sociology, which should of all sciences benefit man most, is in danger of falling into the class of polite amusements, or dead sciences. It is the object of this work to point out a method by which the breath of life may be breathed into its nostrils.”

Statical and dynamic investigation must be separated

Separation of statical and dynamic investigation is demanded in the interest of scientific precision. Clearness of thought requires distinction of facts and forces from possible organizations and applications and adjustments. It is possible to discover, for example, that the institution of private property in land is or is not arbitrary, according to the positive criteria already explained. The discovery is quite independent, on the other hand, of possible policies looking to the maintenance or the abolition of the institution of landed property.

Separation of statical and dynamic doctrines is also demanded in the interest of practical social coöperation. History, past and present, is full of the disasters and confusions which follow precipitate identification of social programmes with social principles. The social economy of truthfulness, for example, is not to be confounded with justification of torture to compel assent to truth. The right of every man to enjoy the product of his own labor is not to be identified with any proposed scheme for securing to men the fruits of their labor. The social situation would be wonderfully simplified if men could stop confounding principles with programmes. There is hardly a contemporary social question which is not involved in this confusion. Social principles and popular programmes are not necessarily correlates, any more than the laws of motion are prophecies of perpetual motion.

Danger of
confusing
statical and
dynamic con-
siderations

Principles
confounded
with pro-
grammes.

The separation thus made between Statical and Dynamic Sociology is of cardinal importance. This is not because room is to be made for dealing with fantastic visions in the one case, and then with stern realities in the other. It is not because there is a place in science for consideration of ideals whose elements are impracticable. It is simply because inextricable confusion has resulted from jumbling the two subjects of thought — first, essential social economies, second, methods of appropriating and realizing those economies. The physical facts of falling water, of atmospheric currents, of the power of steam and of electricity, are antecedent to, and completely separable in thought from, the water wheel and the windmill and the steam engine and the dynamo.

Separation of
Statics and
Dynamics
justified

In a similar way, the peculiar data of Statical Sociology are antecedent to and separable from any device of social organization or machinery for the application or development of those data. Scientific thought and practical

Men are
divided less on
principles than
on policies

Social Statics
distinguished
from Dynamics

Summary

endeavor have rushed into needless entanglements from failure to observe and use this obvious distinction. The world was never so earnest and determined about social solutions as it is to-day. Social self-knowledge has progressed beyond the attainment of any earlier time. Social doctrinaires have never been more industrious. Divisions are still created between men of good will, apparently on questions of principle, when the only real difference between them is upon the relatively superficial judgment of policy. The march of progress is consequently obstructed by the needless scattering of forces.

The scientific division of Sociology, therefore, corresponds with the practical desirability of discriminating principles and policies. Engineers are agreed to-day upon principles which show that our present methods of using fuel waste a large fraction of its energy. The proofs are quite independent of schemes for saving the waste. Statical Sociology reaches analogous conclusions about wastes in the operations of society. Dynamic Sociology proceeds to investigate means of employing all the available forces of society in the interest of the largest human welfare.

Sociology is thus the organization of all the material furnished by the positive study of society. Sociology is, first, Descriptive — coördinated facts of society as it is ; second, Statical — the ideal which right reason discloses of society as it ought to be ; third, Dynamic — the available resources for changing the actual into the ideal.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. On the basis of De Greef's classification of social phenomena (*Introduction to Sociology*, Vol. I., p. 214), show how the same social facts may be the subject-matter of distinct social sciences.

2. On the basis of De Greef's classification, show how many possible social sciences may be developed.

3. On the basis of De Greef's classification, show whether the courses of study in typical American colleges afford an adequate introduction to comprehensive knowledge of social activities.

4. On the basis of De Greef's classification, show whether a synthetic study of society will be more or less necessary, as knowledge of social phenomena becomes more precise.

5. Criticise De Greef's classification of social phenomena, and propose one or more substitutes.

6. What errors of judgment are likely to develop from study of man chiefly in his physical characteristics?

7. What errors of judgment are likely to develop from study of man chiefly in his intellectual characteristics?

8. What errors of judgment are likely to develop from study of man chiefly in his industrial characteristics?

9. What errors of judgment are likely to develop from study of man chiefly as a political factor?

10. Criticise Herbert Spencer's demands upon the science of History.

11. Show in what sense and to what extent Herbert Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology* has contributed to Social Philosophy: (a) as addition to knowledge; (b) as index of needed knowledge.

12. Show what natural qualifications and what special training are essential for a specialist in Sociology.

13. Explain and classify the facts which make accurate analysis of society more practicable now than in earlier periods.

14. Characterize and classify all known attempts to collect and organize circumstantial knowledge of contemporary social conditions.

15. Examine Dr. Herron's account of "The Scientific Ground of a Christian Sociology." (*The Christian Society*, Chap. I.)

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO SOCIAL REFORMS

Science not
indifferent to
art

§ 31. To the unreflecting, science often seems indifferent to its appropriate art. It is easy to cite circumstantial evidence in support of popular cynicisms to the effect that medical science is more interested in autopsies than in the recovery of patients. Sociology is, at present, liable to either of two mutually destructive criticisms ; on the one hand, that it is a purely empirical procedure, a collection of experiments and programmes, without scientific basis or justification ; on the other hand, that it is a purely abstract and speculative affair, so far from contact with reality that it can have no possible connection with concrete social tasks.

but in its
formative
period science
is reluctant
to make
applications

There is a sense in which any science, especially in its formative period, must seem, and to a certain extent must be, unsympathetic toward immediate practice. The scientific investigator may be intensely interested in the ultimate application of his science to serviceable art, but in proportion to the clearness of his intelligence will be his conviction that application of immature science would embarrass rather than assist art.

The scientist will, accordingly, look upon any given case to which his science is related, first as a particular instance in which, with thousands, or perhaps millions of others, the constant principle must be discovered ; and second, as an opportunity for the application of the principle, when it has been apprehended. As a discoverer, the scientist is under

bonds to his own method to be a skeptic about applications until the truth is demonstrated. The scientist, as discoverer, is accordingly wary of practice until his experiments or observations have established principles. He thinks, and thinks rightly, that technical experience, with such knowledge as familiarity with practice has developed, would be less likely to bring confusion into affairs, than the premature introduction of hypothetical principles.

An illustration has been familiar in recent years in the case of Dr. Koch's researches upon tuberculosis. No doubt men who will never contribute to the science of Bacteriology have been able to recommend treatment for tubercular affections which has been more wise on the whole for particular patients than anything which Dr. Koch himself could have advised. Indeed, the investigator directly illustrated the relation between research and practice which we are now pointing out, by refusing for a long time to place the results of his studies within the reach of general practitioners; and the sale of his lymph was at last rather an extension of the range of experiment than a direct effort to revolutionize medicine.

Dr. Koch and
tuberculosis

The division of the material of Sociology into historical and analytical data furnishes a clue to the probable tendencies of sociologists. The men whose attention is directed chiefly to historical data will be inclined more and more to doubt the possibility of rapid social changes. They deal with series of phenomena which unfold themselves from century to century, from age to age, from epoch to epoch. These men are under powerful temptation to regard society as a mill of the gods, which grinds so exceedingly slow that men cannot accelerate its motion. The principles of social economy which most impress them urge the conclusion that effort contemplating immediate social modification is an attempt to reverse the order of nature. They are likely

Historical
sociologists
likely to doubt
the possibility
of rapid
change

to think of social forces as factors which, in some hundreds or thousands of years, will work out beneficent results. It will be hard for them to exercise saving faith in any programme of immediate social amelioration. Of this type of sociologists, Mr. Herbert Spencer is the most conspicuous living example.

Another group of equally scientific observers are dealing analytically with phases of contemporary life. They are trying to construe visible phenomena in terms of the same principles which the biological and historical sociologists spell out of the records of the past. They discover social anomalies which it seems practicable to remove, wholly or in part, by a little strenuous effort. These men, in turn, are under strong temptation, first, to forget the time factor in social changes; and second, to neglect the fact that social improvement thus far has been by coöperation of many ameliorative forces. They may see so distinctly the conditions immediately essential to the particular change which they desire, that they overlook the many coördinate changes which are needed to make any social progress secure. Analytic study of contemporary social facts is, therefore, likely to recruit the ranks of social agitators. These men, in turn, discredit Sociology by making it appear to be merely a collective name for the various schemes by which unscientific optimists expect to organize imperfect men into perfect society.

Analytical
sociologists
in danger of
becoming
social agi-
tators

Distinction
between
Sociology and
sociologists to
be observed

It would be well, therefore, to observe the distinction between Sociology and sociologists. All science is, in principle, ameliorative, constructive, progressive. Scientists vary in temper from the reactionary to the fanatic. The scientific task which we have found for Sociology must be the standard by which to determine the scientific character of individuals. The propositions which follow will first negatively, then positively, define the service which Sociology is capable of rendering as a factor in immediate progress.

§ 32. The problems of each age and of each civilization are the profoundest questions of life presented in new terms. In no age has there been found an available substitute for the utmost wisdom which the age possessed. Human progress has been a series of collisions with reality and of partial appropriations of knowledge afforded by the shocks. Progress in the future must be by interpretation and application of the realities which condition social life. These realities are more intricate as society has become more complex. Interpretation of social conditions requires not less science, but more, than in any previous generation.

Sociology is not a short cut to the solution of social problems

Twentieth century Sociology must focus all the centuries' knowledge upon the latest century's peculiarities. The appalling difficulties which interpretation of social reality encounters make it possible to popularize social doctrines which are plausible because they conceal all but one or two elements of the problem, and deal with these as though they were decisive. Books have been accepted as sociological treatises, which would be properly described as expressions of irresponsible opinion upon topics of more or less general interest. Authors of such discussions are to be charged with the impression, which may be detected in many quarters, that Sociology is a counterfeit passport of superficial men, without knowledge of the method or results of any social science, to leadership in society. Men have advertised as Sociology, programmes which may be justly characterized as proposals to suspend economic law by substitution of benevolent sentiment. It is no wonder that Sociology, in such versions, is judged to be merely an erratic and unscientific parody of Political Economy.

Plausible social doctrines easily popularized

As related to the social wiseacres, whose specific for social ills is any of the thousand popular prescriptions for social symptoms, without diagnosis of radical conditions, Sociology is a warning and a protest. Men who know but little of

Sociology a protest against quackery

Laymen may
contribute
facts to Soci-
ology

other social conditions than those in which their own lives move, may be able to discover facts in their own sphere, which deserve a place in sociological generalizations. Men who have insight into hygienic or industrial or intellectual or ethical relations may be able to call attention to interests which the theories and practices of their own society have neglected. That ability entitles them to a hearing as witnesses, but not necessarily as lawgivers; as exponents of social needs, but not as promulgators of social programmes.

It is not a
pastime for
amateurs

Any treatment of social problems as proper subject-matter for amateurs, or for persons who have mastered none of the particular departments of social knowledge in their relation to the whole of social phenomena, is virtual negation of Sociology. To permit social programmes to be made by persons who are mere observers of the surface of society would be like setting an artist in oils to build bridges, or allowing a boiler maker to take command of a navy.

Sociology is
not a syno-
nym for
Socialism

§ 33. Sociology must be distinguished from Socialism. Socialism is a programme. Sociology is both science and philosophy. Socialism is related to Sociology somewhat as the platform of either of our national parties to the Constitution of the United States. The fact that either the Socialism or the party policy is advocated by zealous partisans does not prove its consistency with the fundamental principles which it claims to represent. Socialism assumes that which Sociology investigates. Socialism may have reached, by shrewd perception, much social interpretation that Sociology will verify; but at present Socialism is related to Sociology much as Astrology was to the early history of Astronomy, or Alchemy to the beginnings of Chemistry.

Socialism is
related to
Sociology as
Astrology to
Astronomy

Toward most of the reorganizations which Socialism proposes, Sociology is in the attitude of our mechanical

engineers toward the practicability of aërial navigation. In relation to immediate social issues the sociologist is rather a referee, while the socialist is an advocate. In contrast with the eagerness of Socialism, the policy of Sociology is to make haste slowly. As was shown before (Chap. II.), Sociology was born of the modern ardor to improve society. Sociology presumes that right social life is more difficult to understand than the socialistic programme makers imagine. Its method consists first, therefore, of investigation; while Socialism would have men believe that the time is come for virtually revolutionary action. Sociology is no less profoundly devoted to social welfare, but it assumes that progress will be accelerated more surely by patient search for yet unknown facts and relations, and by gradual social assimilation of knowledge, than by artificial reconstruction.

Sociology
judicial, not
partisan

§ 34. A recent writer upon Social Science begins his discussion in this form: — "By the social question is now generally understood that investigation of ways and means by which the lot of the laboring classes may be improved." It is doubtless true that this narrow view of the social question is common, but it is not the sociological view. The real social question is: What is the best that the human race can live for? Can we come to a general agreement about the genuine meaning of life? Can we have a common standard by which to judge whether men in different circumstances are on the way to the true ends of life? Can we learn what influences are available to secure the best of life for the greatest number? No man and no class is so near to the supreme realization of life that the answer to this question can be indifferent.

Sociology is
not a cham-
pion of class
interests

The social
problem stated

From the sociological standpoint, the cause of labor in the last half century has suffered because the demands of the laborer have been too exclusively in terms of wages and

too little in terms of manhood. The cause of the wage-earners has been presented as too much a mere matter of victuals.

Poverty a concern of society as a whole

Poverty is not a sacrament. No man ought to be content with the lot of a beggar. The world will not be right until every adult man's labor can command, for himself and for the family that should be a part of himself, access to everything essentially human. The struggle for this consummation is not a class contest, however. It is a common interest of all sections of society.

The economic element only a fraction of the social problem

It is culpable and dangerous quackery to conceal the fundamental necessity and the universal utility of wealth. Wealth is not the best thing in the world, but the best things get into the world with the help of wealth. Without wealth, there would be neither society nor science nor religion. Undervaluation of wealth as a social force is sufficient to vitiate any philosophy of life. In so far as the labor problem is the wealth problem considered as one factor of the whole problem of human life, Sociology is concerned for the laborer in the solution of the problem.

Sociology the ally of any class temporarily at a disadvantage

If, however, some revolution in economic production or distribution could assure to each laborer's family in the world a minimum annual income of a thousand dollars, that change alone would leave the essential social problem as far from solution as it is to-day. The problem of all mankind is not merely how to produce and distribute wealth, but how to attain largeness and fullness of life. Sociology assumes that all elements of human good reinforce each other. Sociology searches not for one element of good, nor for the solution of the problem of life for a single class, but for means by which the conditions of life for all classes may be improved.

This fact makes Sociology the ally of any class which is temporarily at a disadvantage against any other class. The

implications of the organic relationships observable in society enforce the presumption that the genuine good of any fraction of humanity tends to the ultimate good of all. Hence Sociology looks to the equalization of social relations. Civilization is a miserably crude experiment until it is possible for each member of society to command food and clothing and shelter and surplus and leisure enough to permit progressive and all-sided expansion of manhood. Civilization is still further a failure until each member of society knows the rational ends to which the material elements of welfare should be made the means; and until each member of society is rationally using abundant material wealth for attainment of completed life. Whoever imagines that all this reduces to a simple sum in Arithmetic, or that the whole problem is merely a game of class politics, would do better to transfer his attention to something less intricate than Sociology.

Civilization is crude if it involves artificial inequality

§ 35. Among social elements, there have always been individuals and groups that either could not or would not act their part as social factors. These people are supposed by many to furnish Sociology its only pretext for existence. They are understood to be its special charge. It is supposed to dedicate to them its undivided care. Systems of Social Science accept and develop this conception. Sociology would be, however, not a philosophy, but a makeshift, if its sole function were to treat these unsocial elements. If these elements could be miraculously restored, or raised to equality with the average, the real task of society would still remain. The proper task of society is still beyond the formula in the last section. It is such perfecting of social fellowship that each individual capable of a social service shall contribute that service to social welfare, and in return shall have the

Sociology is not primarily concerned with the helpless elements in society

The elimination of unsocial elements would not solve the social problem

amplest assistance from society in the realization of his manhood.

Defectives,
dependents,
and delin-
quents, not
properly mem-
bers of society

The classes technically known as the defective, the dependent, and the delinquent are outside of proper social relationships. They are dead or poisonous matter, foreign and dangerous to the social body. They are not of society in the same sense in which normal men are members of society. The task of society is not with them, but with itself. The capable, willing people who compose society in the truer sense have a duty toward these unsocial people, but it is incidental. It is not the chief duty of society to act as guardians to these people, any more than it is the chief business of a railway corporation to repair broken rails.

The unsocial classes impose upon society an obligation distinct from the essential task of society; but aside from their demands upon humanity, these non-social classes concern society primarily as symptoms of diseased social conditions, which it is the interest of society to remove. In reducing to a minimum the evil of an unsocial class, society is consequently not solving the positive problem of social welfare, which may be formulated once more in the question: — How shall the society of competent and willing men coöperate to the largest individual and social advantage?

Sociology is
the philoso-
phy of in-
creasing
social health,
rather than
of diminish-
ing social
disease

§ 36. The aim of Sociology is the development of social health, not the cure of social disease. This paradox is but the positive form of the proposition above stated (§ 35). If a man has violated the laws of nature or of the state, and is suffering the penalty of a fever, or an ulcer, or a broken bone, the treatment that restores the normal temperature, or extracts the virus, or reduces the fracture, is no positive part of his development as a man. It is not culture of the physical, or the mental, or the moral in his nature. It is merely a repair of damages. The man

marks time till the loss is made good. The like holds true of society. The restoration of diseased members is important, but it is only negatively a part of the social task.

It is necessary to insist upon this assertion because it contradicts much of the most confident social doctrine of the day. Sociology is confounded with charity, and charity is defined as "the duty of the rich toward the poor." The definition is half platitude and the other half falsehood. There is no duty of one class toward another which is not essentially the duty of each human being to all his fellows. There is no genuine charity toward the poor which is not in principle the duty of the rich toward the rich. Charity is either the expression of man's duty to man, or it is an artificial and vicious code by which one class of men regulates a part of its conduct toward other classes considered as something less than men.

The relation
of Sociology
to charity

There is danger that the theses of the last two sections will be misunderstood. They may seem to deny the duty and to belittle the importance of social effort in behalf of defectives, dependents, and delinquents. On the contrary, the obligation of society toward these unsocial elements cannot be too emphatically asserted. It is not too much to say that civilizations may be rated by the quality of their service toward these classes. The importance and the dignity of the ameliorative and preventive divisions of Sociology need no vindication. The position maintained is that when the best possible service toward the unsocial elements is discharged, the proper task of society is no more done than is that of an army, so long as it stays in camp and nurses scurvy and measles. Sociology is no more the science of dependency than military strategy is the science of looking after the killed, wounded, and missing.

Social effort
for unsocial
elements not
belittled

But put in its
true relation
to the total
social problem

People may be divided into two general classes: those to be worked for, and those to be worked with. The former

class is composed of the defectives, dependents, and delinquents. The most persuasive reason for social endeavor for this class is that the force of circumstances has thrust into it many who belong, by right of natural endowment, with the other class. Not every man who eats the bitter bread of charity is unsocial in talent or purpose.

Endeavors for social and for unsocial persons must be in proper proportions

We must be sure, however, that we preserve the proportion between social endeavor for this class and the whole system of social activities which Sociology contemplates. Some of the most diligent social workers, and some eminent sociological writers, have failed to realize that the chief concern of society after all is not with the science of the unsocial, but with the science of the social. The needs of the unsocial remnants of humanity have been the sharpest spur to social science, and the relations of social men to unsocial men have thus far occupied much more space in social theory than the relations of social men to each other.

Sociology is passing into a phase in which its larger scope is commanding recognition. The aim of Sociology is not a theory and practice of charity, but an effective policy of rational sociability which shall include the largest possible number of men in the fellowship of reciprocally helpful coöperation.

Sociology is the scientific counterpart of characteristic popular convictions

§ 37. Sociology is the scientific resultant of two contrasted intellectual tendencies. We are familiar, on the one hand, with forms of thought, which contain altogether unexampled respect for man. Shakespeare made a mind on the verge of distraction utter that lofty apostrophe: "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in attribute! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!" Never until the present

generation have men in the full possession of their senses, especially if they wished to be numbered among Christian believers, ventured to appropriate the sentiment of Hamlet's rhapsody for the expression of their calm convictions. The undercurrent of opinion is growing stronger and stronger that man, not as he is, but as he might be if he would, is a right royal fellow indeed.

Revaluation
of man

There is a long history of the evolution of Philosophy and Theology behind the protest which Howells puts in the mouth of one of his heroes. The incident follows a visit of condolence to deeply afflicted parents. "I should think," March went on musingly, "that when God sees what we poor finite creatures can bear, hemmed round with this eternal darkness of death, He must respect us!" What would Hawthorne, or even Washington Irving, have expected from his contemporaries, if he had ventured to utter such a revolutionary sentiment? Whether or not we fully indorse all that Howells' conceit implies, our generation believes that, in zeal to make men come to terms with God, our fathers put an estimate on man lower than God's own appraisal. This fact, and all that goes with it, is a cause and a symptom of social agitation.

A side light
from Howells

On the other hand, there is a deep minor note in the popular voice. We are familiar with a gloomy and almost desperate form of thought which Mrs. Browning made the motive of *Aurora Leigh*.

"The world — look round —

The world we're come to, late, is swollen hard,

With perished generations and their sins ;

The civilizer's spade grinds horribly

On dead men's bones, and cannot turn up soil

That's otherwise than fetid. All success

Proves partial failure, all advance implies

What's left behind ; all triumph, something crushed

At the chariot wheels ; all government, some wrong ;

Mrs. Browning
in *Aurora
Leigh*

And rich men make the poor, who curse the rich,
 Who agonize together, rich and poor,
 Under and over, in the social spasm
 And crisis of the ages. Here's an age
 That makes its own vocation ; here we have stepped
 Across the bounds of time ; here's naught to see,
 But just the rich man and just Lazarus,
 And both in torments ; with a mediate gulf,
 Though not a hint of Abraham's bosom. Who,
 Being man and human, can stand calmly by,
 And view these things, and never tease his soul
 For some great cure? No physic for this grief,
 In all the earth and heavens too."

Tennyson represents the same tendency of thought in
Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.

Tennyson in
Locksley Hall
Sixty Years
After

"Is it well that while we range with Science, glorying the time,
 City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?
 There among the glooming alleys Progress halts on palsied feet,
 Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands on the street.
 There the master scrimps his haggard sempstress of her daily bread,
 There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead.
 There the smouldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor,
 And the crowded couch of incest, in the warrens of the poor."

"The times
 are out of
 joint"

This dolorous view of human conditions is not confined to poets. It is rather a trait of characteristic contemporary thought. "The times are out of joint" is the one plank common to all social platforms. These two tendencies of thought are forcing new channels of opinion. They are, in a word, the belief first, that man, at his best, is capable of great worth and great happiness ; second, that man, as he averages, has a miserable lot, and that somebody is to blame for his misery.

Sociology
 investigates
 such indict-
 ments against
 society

Sociology finds its application to immediate needs in the task of investigating the grounds of the indictment against actual conditions on the one hand, and of exploring possi-

bilities and devising methods of instituting more genuinely social conditions on the other hand. Sociology is, therefore, likely to give little immediate aid and comfort to social agitators, except to those whose movements are impulses of thought rather than of popular demonstration.

The task of Sociology, not in spite of social conditions which strongly appeal to human sympathy, but because of them, is to investigate. The problems are so important that it is wicked to waste time on unscientific treatment of them. The most fundamental, and in the end the most useful, social service that can be performed by men capable of scientific labor is to collect all the social facts that can be discovered, in order to derive from them general laws, fundamental principles of social tendency, and profound perspective of social cause and effect. Men enlisted in this work usually have little time, and perhaps little talent, for direct participation in the work of applying social principles to concrete social tasks. They are none the less large contributors to the final solution of the social problem. They are doing what Galileo did for Astronomy, and Newton for Physics, and Franklin for Electricity, and Harvey for Medicine.

Collection of facts and derivation of laws constitute a fundamental social service

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Illustrate, from the history of the steam engine, the dependence of improvement in practice, upon discovery in science and art.
2. Illustrate same in case of machinery for weaving cotton.
3. Illustrate same in case of the sewing machine.
4. Summarize the work of any State Bureau of Labor up to date, and show whether it deserves to rank among factors of social progress.
5. Investigate the history of any local trade organization, and estimate its worth as a social factor.
6. Study the division of labor in the membership of any local church, and show the extent and the limitations of its apparent influence as an organization upon the various interests of the community.

7. Presuming that the National Democratic Platform of 1892 was a candid representation of beliefs, what principles of the party are based upon opinions which assume principles not yet demonstrated?

8. With the same presumption make a similar study of the Populist Platform.

9. With the same presumption make a similar study of the Republican Platform.

10. Contrast the form of treatment in any selected version of Socialism, with the method which Sociology would pursue in dealing with the same subjects.

11. Show whether the existence of a "pauper class" deserves the attention of the responsible people in the town where the writer lives.

12. Show same of a "defective class."

13. Show same of a "delinquent class."

14. Show whether elements of the problem of modern misery are slighted in Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.

CHAPTER V

THE ORGANIC CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY

§ 38. This general introduction to Sociology would be incomplete without a brief explanation of the place which the conception of society as an organism occupies in our method of interpretation. Professor Franklin H. Giddings, who has been among the pioneers of sociological thought in the United States, has said, in substance, that modern Sociology may be distinguished from previous social doctrine by the prominence which it gives to the fundamental idea of the social organism.

The idea of the social organism fundamental

It is certainly true that a student who is not thoroughly familiar with the biological and the sociological use of the term "organism" must grow more and more bewildered if he attempts to follow recent social discussions. The third and fourth books of this volume will seem meaningless and purposeless to students to whom the fact of social interrelationship is so vague that it affords no help in coördinating social phenomena. This manual aims to place students in possession of the organic hypothesis of society, as a working tool, and a useful instrument. The method of study required by this outline is defensible only on the basis of the conception which the formula "Society is an organism" expresses.

The organic conception the justification of the method to be followed

It is neither desirable nor possible to define the phrase "social organism" in such precise terms that it may be made a premise for deduction of a system of social doctrine. Such mechanical use of the term has been attempted by persons

incapable of dealing inductively with the material of social knowledge. They have succeeded only in getting Sociology charged with reasoning after the form : "Man is an organism ; society is an organism ; therefore society is a man."

Sociological and biological conceptions of organism distinguished

§ 39. The sociological concept "organism" is a wider generalization of the term already generic in Biology. From definitions of the biological term "organism" the following will serve to explain the sociological usage : "An organized being, a living body, either vegetable or animal, composed of different organs or parts, with functions which are separate, but mutually dependent and essential to the life of the individual."

Traits of an organism

The first trait of an organism implied in this description is that it is not dead or inert, but living and active. The second trait is that it is not homogeneous substance, but composed of distinguishable parts. The third trait is that these distinguishable parts are capable of coöperating with each other. The fourth trait is that the complete life of the whole is realized if coöperation of the parts is complete, and conversely, the life of the whole is diminished in so far as coöperation of the parts is incomplete.

Interrelation and interdependence of parts the essential ideas of organism

The formula does not include, but expressly excludes, restriction of the concept to any special order of life. The Alga or the Fungus is an organism as truly as the Oak or the Orchid ; the Amœba as truly as the Elephant or Man. The radical ideas in the concept "organism" are interrelation and interdependence of parts, in accordance with principles of immanent economy to which all the parts and the composed whole are subject. Wherever those relations are found, the use of the generic term is appropriate. Assertion that the series "vegetable organism," "animal organism," may be extended by addition of the term "social organism," no more involves the assertion that society is an animal, than

the previous series implies that animals are vegetables. The proposition means, most abstractly, that there are, in society, certain principles of coherence, which bind society into a unity that constitutes a distinct order of organism.

The enlarged concept "organism," which omits traits peculiar to vegetable or animal organisms, and contains only relationships common to these and also to societies of human beings, has been most clearly described by Mr. J. S. MacKenzie in the following formula: "A whole whose parts are intrinsically related to it, which develops from within, and has reference to an end which is involved in its own nature."

Mackenzie's
definition of
organism

Discovery that these traits actually inhere in human society, and that human personality develops partly in contributing to the integration of such a unity, partly through adaptation to the conditions of that unity, is the initial step in modern Social Philosophy.

§ 40. Those modern sociologists who have employed the organic conception of society to the best purpose have used it as an instrument of discovery or exposition, not as a means of exhibiting social facts in fanciful arrangements, in conformity with forced analogies. Critics of the organic interpretation of society are apt to treat it as though the social interpretation which uses such analogies were related to genuine Sociology, as catalogues of the stars in arbitrary constellations are to Astronomy. There is nothing in the analysis of society as an organism which remotely resembles the construction of the heavenly bodies into Draco and Cygnus and Pegasus and Andromeda.

The organic
conception a
guide to
social dis-
coveries

The organic interpretation of society is not a method of placing social facts in artificial groupings, so that they may be conveniently discussed. It is an attempt to discover the relations of reciprocity in which the components of society stand to each other; and no language is so appropriate to

Organic inter-
pretation not
an artificial
method

the purpose as that of Biology. When biological terms are used in social interpretation, it is because the social facts which we observe manifest themselves in action and reaction with each other in ways which at once suggest facts of physical organisms previously observed, between which there are similar relations. The likeness of relations, not the identity of terms, promotes the meanings of familiar biological words to a social significance, as in the case of the term "organism," with which we are especially concerned.

Societies not
zoölogical
types

Thus, when we speak of "Social Anatomy," we do not intend to embarrass social analysis by an attempt to divide societies into Radiates and Mollusks and Articulates and Vertebrates. It may be possible to classify governments, and to discover certain relations between types of government and the structure of the societies in which the various governments operate ; but the use of the term "Anatomy" does not compel us to find analogies between societies and different kinds of animals where none exist, or between every part of society and some part of an animal body.

but they
present dif-
ferences in
structure

The fact is that, compared with physical organisms, society is amorphous. Of societies belonging to essentially the same variety, the head of one may be in a newspaper office ; of another, on a tobacco plantation ; of a third, in a temple of religion ; of a fourth, in the brains of the free citizens. The nature of societies is such that geometrical boundaries do not essentially differentiate them, and morphological types, if they could be made out, would not have relatively the importance which they have in Zoölogy. Nevertheless, there is a necessary discrimination of part from part in society — a distinction of group from group, of process from process, which is preliminary to more searching inquiry into social relations, and can be compared with nothing more precisely than with Anatomy, as distinguished from Physiology.

Again, when we speak of the "life" of the social body, we do not imply that, in addition to the stomachs and hearts of the individual members, there is a physical organ to digest food for society, and another to force blood into social arteries. We mean that there is discoverable among associations of human beings that "continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations," which is an analogue of the life of a man; which, however, presents complexities that distinguish it as life of a still more mysterious order.

The "life" of society does not imply social duplicates of physical organs

Once more, when we assert that the social body "grows," we do not mean that it secretes layers of fiber around a central nucleus, as in the case of a tree; or that it adds cubits to its stature, like the children of men. We mean that society exhibits a real, though unique, process of development. It is visible in the activities of industry, of politics, of science, of art, of religion. This growth cannot be accounted for by the action of the same energies which secure the growth of plants and animals. It is the operation of factors additional to those which Physiology, or even Psychology, can discover. It is the emergence of the ultra-psychical energies in the reaction of many minds upon each other.

The nature of social growth

Thus, while we distinctly repudiate a literalism which identifies the social body with physical organisms, as known to Biology, we assert that society is such a combination of individual human organisms that the resulting phenomena compose an organism of a higher order. We are thus far unable to analyze the social body as minutely as physiologists have examined animal bodies, and we are, therefore, unprepared to assert positively how far actual analogies hold between social and physiological relations. We must consequently guard ourselves by making it very clear that, in the use of biological language, we allege primarily only similarities, not identities. Our conception never reduces

Society an organism of a higher order

"No analogy
goes on all
fours"

Figurative
language
must not
obscure
realities

the more complex social phenomena to a lower place in the hierarchy of phenomena. We never mean to imply that because we observe one similarity between social and physiological relations, there must necessarily be in society duplicates of every other physiological relation. In short, the organic conception of society must claim rights under the homely rhetorical principle: "No analogy goes on all fours."

§ 41. The fact that, in developing the organic interpretation of society, biological terms are often used in a figurative sense, must not conceal the fact that there are certain relationships precisely parallel, as such, with certain relationships in animal bodies. In the working portion of this manual, a large number of illustrations will be cited. The abstract proposition may be repeated here in the words of Mr. Spencer:—

"Figures of speech, which often mislead by conveying the notion of complete likeness where only slight similarity exists, occasionally mislead by making an actual correspondence seem a fancy. A metaphor, when used to express a real resemblance, raises a suspicion of mere imaginary resemblance; and so obscures the perception of intrinsic kinship. It is thus with the phrases 'body politic,' 'political organization,' and others, which tacitly liken a society to a living creature. They are assumed to be phrases having a certain convenience but expressing no fact—tending rather to foster a fiction. And yet, metaphors are here more than metaphors in the ordinary sense. They are devices of speech hit upon to suggest a truth at first dimly perceived, but which grows clearer the more carefully the evidence is examined. That there is a real analogy between an individual organism and a social organism, becomes undeniable when certain necessities determining structure are seen to govern them in common."

A typical mis-
conception
from current
literature

No better illustration could be desired, to show how the organic interpretation of society is misconstrued both on its figurative and its literal side, than was furnished in a late

magazine article by Professor Simon N. Patten. The case is the more notable because whatever Professor Patten writes is worthy of attention. His failure to do justice to the organic conception proves that its expounders have not made themselves understood. If our leading thinkers have not fairly apprehended the conception, it is evident that too great plainness in explaining its bearings is impossible. In a note, Professor Patten says:—

“It is a common sociological concept to think of a society as an organism. This concept is, however, defective. The members of a society act together, not because they are parts of an organism having an independent *vital force*, but because they project and visualize the same subjective environment.”

Professor Patten might just as well have objected to the organic conception of society, on the ground that society has no independent lungs, or liver, or legs; or that society has neither teeth, nor hair, nor skin. The organic conception of society does not involve the assumption that society has an independent “vital force” in any biological sense. If the phrase is used, it would be in a sense entirely figurative, so far as biological facts are concerned; but the phrase, “social vital force,” would apply properly to a psychical force, which performs in society a function of preserving the relation of social part to part, closely analogous with the function which “vital force,” as conceived biologically, performs among the particles that compose the animal body.

The vital force
of society
psychical, not
physical

In the very passage to which the above note is appended, Professor Patten unconsciously adopts the organic conception, because he is reporting a fact which illustrates the organic character of society, as explained in § 39. He says there is a kind of knowledge

“which may be called race knowledge, because it is either a part of the common inheritance of all, or might be made so, if sufficient care

were taken to put it in the proper form and to impress it upon the public. . . . Like the panorama, which combines a bit of real scenery near at hand with a painted background, so as to give the effect of reality to the whole picture, so the visualized race knowledge, *creating the national character*, becomes as real and objective to the citizen, as the soil, mine, or shop from which he earns his living."

Race knowledge does not involve a race brain

A literalist might turn Professor Patten's own style of criticism against this representation and declare: "The concept 'race knowledge' is defective, because no race has an independent brain." If any one is so lacking in imagination that he cannot apprehend approximate expressions of more complex truth in terms of simpler analogies, he should not attempt the "thinking things together" involved in social interpretation.

In the case presented by the above quotation, a mental phenomenon is involved, in which thoughts shared by people of a race have an effect upon the persons composing the race, analogous with the effect which thoughts in the mind of a single man have upon the acts which the man performs. It is, therefore, entirely correct to speak of "race knowledge." Study of society, with a view to discovery of real relations, will result in the apprehension of a sum of real relations which are not biological; which can be adequately expressed, however, only as Social Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Pathology.

The organic conception not a modern invention

§ 42. Study of society under the guidance of the organic conception is simply perfecting perceptions which are, in principle, as old as attempts to explain the universe. It would be a bold historian who would venture to declare which of the Greeks first thought of the world as in some degree organic, in the sense described above. Paul certainly applied the conception to Christian society, at least, in the twelfth chapter of the letter to the Romans, and also

in the twelfth chapter of the first letter to the Corinthians. Traces of the idea are found in the writings of historians, theologians, poets, and philosophers, at intervals throughout mediæval and modern literature.

Modern interpretations of social activities are not attempts to find curious analogies to correspond with superficial aspects of society. They endeavor to express, in terms most nearly adequate to the purpose, the precise facts of interrelation which social activities present.

Beginning with the individual, where biological and psychological observation ends, we discover that the individual cannot be understood in isolation. He is not only side by side with other individuals like himself, but in a thousand ways these other individuals singly and collectively determine the quantity and the quality of his life. The individual is a factor of a larger self, and that larger self is the object of Sociology.

Sociology begins where Biology and Psychology end

Using the vital relations which Biology has investigated, not as limitations of knowledge, but as spurs to discovery, we assume that every act in society, like every process in the animal organism, has a causal explanation, and a functional significance. We treat society just as we might imagine the anatomist treating the human body, if all the vital processes could be exposed to simultaneous view. He would at once proceed to verify hypotheses about vital cause and effect, about physiological process and method; and he would watch for facts about which opinions were unformed. Sociological analysis, by use of the organic conception, is not an attempt to construct social facts into conformity with conventional ideas. It is a method of examining social facts so critically that their essential relations with all other social facts will be detected.

Biological conceptions stimulate social inquiry

The kind and amount of social interpretation which this manual will outline should result at least in ability to render

The results to be anticipated from the use of this method

the general facts of society in terms of their functional values. It should sharpen the perception that social activities are to be judged according to their causal relations to the proper aims of the social whole and of the individual parts. It should so mature social judgment that discrimination will be easy between programmes of action which deal with social symptoms alone, and those which amount to radical treatment. It should develop ability to analyze accurately the physical and psycho-physical mechanism of society, as preparation for study of the statical conditions which social potencies are fitted to realize.

This manual
develops
principles of
social inter-
pretation

The student who uses this manual should understand at the outset what the method proposes and what it positively disclaims. The utmost possible use of this introduction to Sociology would not authorize a student to declare *ex cathedra*, upon general principles, the precise action which individuals or the whole society should take in connection with the next strike, or lockout, or tariff schedule, or task of municipal reform. Careful and protracted use of the method to be outlined will, on the contrary, do for the sociologist precisely what clinical experience does for the physician. It will qualify him to study concrete cases and to form opinions worthy of respect.*

Topics involving the subject matter of Chap. V. will be suggested in connection with Books III., IV., and V.

* Since this chapter was in type, Professor Patton has published, under the title *Failure of Biologic Sociology*, along with strong words of wisdom as an economist, still more startling misconceptions of the method both of Physical Science and of Sociology.

BOOK II

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A SOCIETY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN the second book of Plato's *Republic*, Socrates is represented as discussing the nature of justice. In order to illustrate a theory, he suggests the idea of tracing the gradual formation of a city or commonwealth. This he does in rapid outline, showing that social organization results from the variety of human desires, and describing the division of labor which is essential to genuinely social existence.

Socrates' description of social growth

It is proposed, in this part of our discussion, to adopt a similar plan, and to describe, with some minuteness, the development of a modern community from its earliest beginning to the point at which it attains the size and complex organization of a city. While such a narrative will probably not bring to light facts new to the student, it may help him to arrange in orderly relations a mass of information heretofore unsystematized in his thought.

The development of a society to be traced

An attempt to describe a truly typical society is distinctly disclaimed. Principles of social structure and activity are general, but they are greatly modified in application by an almost infinite variety of conditions. The following narrative, therefore, is designed —

Not a typical society

(1) to exhibit qualitatively, not quantitatively, the various factors of social life as they appear at different stages of social organization ;

Aims of Book II

(2) to illustrate the tendency toward integration, specialization, and interdependence of parts which characterizes a growing society ; and chiefly

(3) to suggest to the student a method of observation, which seeks to gain a conspectus of all social activities in their interrelations, not to scrutinize separately one department of life.

CHAPTER I

THE FAMILY ON THE FARM

The land § 43. Let us go back fifty years to the time when a tract of land lies unoccupied by civilized man in what is now a western state. A rolling prairie, rich in soil, is traversed by a river of fluctuating depth and shifting bed. The bottom lands along the stream are here and there covered with groves and small forests. Several creeks wind their way from the low hills to the river.

The flora Tall, rank grass covers the open land. Wild flowers grow in profusion beside the water ways; among the trees are cottonwoods, walnuts, and oaks.

The fauna Of animal life there is an abundance. Rabbits make their homes in the grass; the woods shelter squirrels, raccoons, and wolves; now and then herds of antelope and buffalo come grazing over the prairie, and drink, and wallow at the river side. In the streams are small fish in plenty; at certain seasons the wild duck float in large numbers on the water; of other fowl—prairie chickens, buzzards, wild geese—there is no lack.

The climate The climate is diversified. The temperature varies from great heat in August to severe cold in January. Between these extremes there is much delightful weather. The rainfall is not great, and for long periods the sky is almost cloudless. Winds varying in intensity blow almost constantly, now cool from the north and east, now hot from the south and west.

Into this region, at the end of an early spring day, comes a "prairie schooner," drawn by a pair of oxen. On the wagon seat are a man and a woman, husband and wife. Under the canvas cover are stored their family goods. A cow follows the wagon, and in a coop beneath are a cock and several hens. A dog scouts in erratic courses over the prairie.

The population

Encamping for a day or two of rest, these pioneers are attracted to the spot; they resolve to put an end to their wanderings, and forthwith they begin to assume permanent relations with the soil.

In a sense, these two are isolated from society. The nearest settlement lies eighty miles to the eastward. Yet, even in this remote place, the newcomers are equipped for their struggle with nature by the society from which, for a time, they are to be exiled. Not only their property, but the language they speak, their knowledge and training, their power to master the region and utilize its resources, are conditions which only associated life can produce.

Isolation
physical
rather than
psychical

Before we describe the process of settlement, let us take account of the materials which go to make up this germ of the coming city.

The region itself has already been sketched in its chief outlines. Its character has caused these nomads to halt, and it will determine, in a large measure, the nature of the future society. The property which enters into this primary settlement consists, first, of domestic animals, of tools and implements, of seeds, and of other things which are essential to the production of food, fuel, clothing, and the like. A second class of property is the household gear, cooking utensils, dishes, bedding, and wearing apparel, which serve to protect the body and to transform raw products into edible food. Still a third kind of property is found in a few books, an almanac, two or three volumes of poetry, some works upon religious subjects, and a large family Bible.

The wealth of
the settlers

There are, besides, a few daguerreotypes of relatives, and three or four gaily colored prints. Such, in brief, are the chiefly inanimate materials of this early settlement.

Equipment of
the personal
elements

§ 44. In the man and the woman, we have the human elements, which, combined with the physical, form this germ of a society. As has been already pointed out, these people are social products. They possess a common language. They have been taught in the same district school in the eastern village where they grew up. They can "read and write and cipher," and they know something of Geography. The man, by practical training, is familiar with agriculture and with the care of horses and cattle. He is a woodsman and a hunter. He is capable of crude carpentry, iron-working, and other forms of manufacture. The woman, in a similar way, has learned housekeeping in a comprehensive sense; she can cook, and milk, and make butter and cheese; she can spin, and weave, and fashion garments. She can do some of the things her husband does, and he, in turn, is fairly skillful at a few of her tasks.

Standards of
judgment

They have acquired standards of judgment and of feeling, as a result of the life in the limited social group which they have left behind. In a crude way they have conceptions of law and government. The man holds political convictions, which have, in part, been transmitted from his father, and to a greater or less degree acquired in country-store discussions, campaign meetings, or from the occasional reading of primitive newspapers.

and taste

The woman entertains conventional ideas of social intercourse as embodied in sewing and quilting bees, donation and tea parties, huskings, and other rural gatherings. She cherishes a few romantic ideals which she has gained from her meager acquaintance with literature. She has standards of dress, and aspires to wear what she would term "tasty"

gowns. Both husband and wife feel a certain vague pleasure in a beautiful landscape, and regard their little art collection with unalloyed satisfaction.

They hold, with tenacity and unquestioning conviction, the creed of the little meetinghouse which they attended from childhood, and they possess standards of conduct in accordance with which they earnestly strive to order their lives. Religion

Much as these two have in common in specific education and social experience, they yet differ widely in temperament and personality. The man is of a strong, self-reliant, reticent, almost stolid character, earnest and persistent. The woman is a cheerful, eager, rather excitable young person, romantic in so far as her arid life has permitted, fond of social intercourse, but loyal to her husband and firm in doing what she deems her duty. He has turned his back on the old home, and is filled with a determination to make his way in a new country. Thus the personal element in him finds expression. His wife, parting from her friends with pain and sorrow, follows him in cheerful loyalty, and in this way displays a certain something for which education and social experience will not wholly account. Personal peculiarities

§ 45. Having broadly characterized this man and woman, who are to deal with the land and property already described, we may appropriately ask what motives are to influence them in making their settlement and carrying on their comparatively isolated life. Unquestionably they are impelled by the necessities of their natures to provide for the sustentation and protection of their bodies. This must, in the nature of the case, be their primary task. Their next care naturally is to accumulate supplies and thus to maintain a margin beyond their daily necessities as a source of safety in case of misfortune and as an aid in future production. This acqui- The motives of the immigrants Economic

sition of property also enables them to look forward to what is called "an independent old age."

They desire
companion-
ship

The impulses which demand food and shelter and the storing up of wealth are most prominent in these settlers. It could not well be otherwise. Yet they seek, in some degree at least, other satisfactions. They feel keenly at times the separation from their friends, and they long for the sight of other human beings. They spend as much time as may be in each other's company, and they find grateful companions in their faithful dog, the oxen and cow, and the noisy fowls.

They are
curious about
the region

Again, they are full of curiosity about the region, its soil, the game and fish, the climate, and other things which it is important for them to know. They explore separately and together. They see different things, and they see the same things differently. They show a keen desire for knowledge of their new home, chiefly, it is true, for the sake of their material welfare, yet not altogether from that motive.

Traces of
æsthetic
feeling

They are not indifferent to a certain charm of the landscape, and, in choosing the place for their cabin, they have a thought for the view. But the conditions which really determine the selection are the distances of water, wood, and arable land. The appreciation of beauty is not, it must be owned, much more than latent in these farming folk, and at a time like this, is little likely to develop until other more pressing needs have been, in a measure, satisfied.

Ethical
standards

Lastly, in all they do, these earnest people have a real desire to conform to certain laws of individual and social conduct, and to merit the approval and be conscious of the support of the God whom they worship in sincerity and in truth.

Settlement

Thus conditioned, and impelled by such desires, this man and this woman set about their tasks. A temporary shelter is afforded by the canvas wagon cover transformed into a

tent. Adequate food is supplied from the family stock, supplemented with game and fish. The oxen and cow are picketed on the prairie. The first important work is the planting of grain and the making of a garden. The man addresses himself almost exclusively to this work, while the woman attends to the housekeeping, milks the cow, and renders such other service as she can. Within a reasonable time, a small area has been plowed in the rich soil, and seed has been sown. A vegetable garden is also dug and duly planted with a variety of seeds.

Cultivation of
the soil

§ 46. The settlers now give attention to a permanent cabin. Day after day, the man fells trees in the neighboring grove. These are drawn by the oxen to the chosen site, upon which a rude log cabin is set up. Flat stones supply materials for a chimney. The chinks between the logs are filled with clay, while brush and sod serve to cover the round rafters. In much the same way a rough shelter is made for the oxen and cow, while a small granary is fitted up with greater care. This work goes on, far into the summer, and by the time it is complete enough for the necessities of at least one winter, the wheat is ready for the scythe. We need not describe the laborious reaping, garnering, and thrashing of the grain. Let us see how the family life is ordered and what work is being done.

Building of a
cabin and
barn

From the first, we note that the work is divided between the man and the woman. The one is engaged chiefly in the more arduous outdoor work; the other performs the more specifically household tasks. If the woman were to die, the man could keep up an independent existence with some inconvenience, and if the man were to die, it is conceivable that the woman might maintain separate life, but certainly with considerably greater difficulty than in the man's case. We find, even in this primary and simple association of two

Division of
tasks between
husband and
wife

persons, a certain division of tasks and a measure of interdependence.

Protection and
defense

Husband and wife are compelled to share in protecting their cabin and property from fire, and from the depredations of wild animals. They must bring from the river and the forest the water and wood which they use. They must relieve or cure sickness with such remedies as they have. They must fashion their rustic furniture, and thrash and grind by hand the grain which they garner. The household is a manufactory, which turns out a great variety of crude products. The man is farmer, hunter, carpenter, blacksmith, fireman, watchman; the woman is cook, dairy-maid, dressmaker, doctor, gardener.

Domestic
manufacture

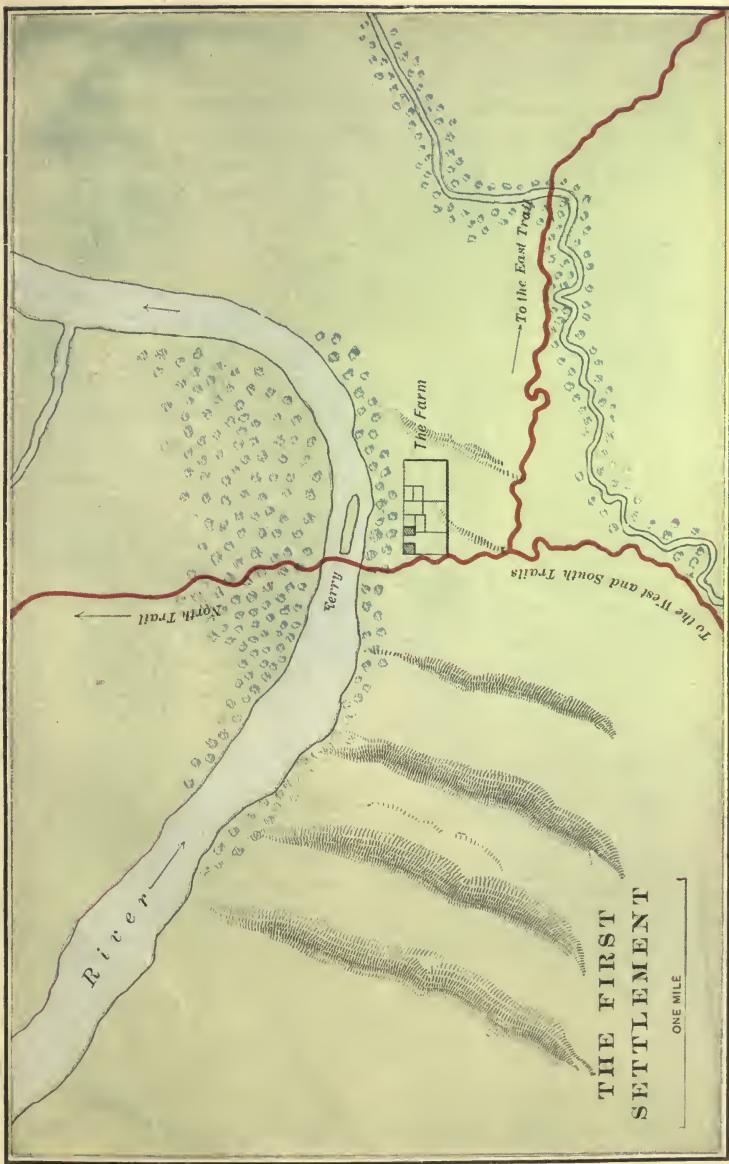
Monotonous
daily life

The daily life, in the cabin and out of it, is monotonous. Rising early, the two go about their respective tasks. The man builds the fire and then visits the stock, returning in time for the breakfast which his wife has prepared. The meal over, he sets out for the field or the woods; she busies herself with household duties, baking, churning, and the like. At noon she summons her husband, with a shrill cry, to his dinner. The afternoon, like the morning, is spent in work. After supper, they sit for a time in the flickering firelight; then, wearied by toil, they go early to bed. At their meals they talk over plans for work, accomplishing more by such attempts at system. Each reports every experience in the least degree extraordinary, and thus they combine their separate observations into a body of knowledge common to both.

Common stock
of information

Sabbath

On Sunday, the life is wholly changed in accordance with the usage of the old home. The little cabin is carefully put to rights. Labor is reduced to the minimum. The best clothes are brought forth. The family Bible and a book of sermons are taken down from the shelf. The day is spent in physical rest, in devout reading, and simple prayer, in talk of friends and dear ones, in rosy dreams of the happy and





prosperous future which is to crown these days of loneliness and toil. On this day, the higher aspirations gain strength, and the weary man and woman not only repair their physical exhaustion, but enrich their hard, impoverished lives.

Physical and
psychical
recuperation

In this way the new home in the new land is set up, and thus, in general, does the daily life go forward. It is impossible to trace, in detail, the progress of the next few years. The apparent isolation of the family continues as the permanent condition, although after the first year the husband makes annual, and still later, semi-annual journeys to a small settlement fifty miles to the north. It requires many days to build the log raft on which he floats, one by one, wagon and oxen to the farther shore of the river. He takes with him such surplus of production, or spoil of the chase, as can be spared at home, and exchanges it for manufactured goods, for horses, cattle, sheep, and swine. This process of acquisition is slow, and requires much patient toil. Labor is expended also on improving the cabin, enlarging the barns, fencing off pasture lands, and in meeting other demands of expanding production.

Connection
established
with the out-
side world:
the ferry

Exchange of
products for
manufactured
articles, cattle,
etc.

§ 47. During these years, three children are born in the little cabin. The wife and mother feels her strength taxed to the utmost by the increased duties which confront her, but in the smiles and clinging affection of her little ones she finds far more than adequate compensation. The father unselfishly adds to his own growing work many household tasks, and thus, in some degree, relieves his wife. But the advent of the children brings a new incentive to achieve success, to secure for them a better childhood and youth, and a more favorable start in life, than their parents knew. The husband realizes that he has almost reached the limit of production possible to his unaided efforts, with such implements as he has. On his next northward journey, he brings home

Birth of
children

Increased
cares

New incentive
to labor

The hiring of a
"farm hand"

a young man, who, for a certain sum per month in addition to his board and lodging, is to work during the year as his employer may direct. The original family has now reached a wider development, and includes not only man and wife, but children and a servant. The position of the latter is that of economic subordination only. He lives on a perfect equality with the other members of the family, sharing with them the same kind of food and shelter.

Cultivation
and production
increased

The assistance of the "hired hand" adds greatly to the family production. The area of cultivation is almost doubled at once, and labor is divided between the men in a way which conduces to greatly increased efficiency. The wife feels the relief least, because the household tasks have been made somewhat greater by the advent of the new worker.

Psychical
impulses from
society at
large

From his expeditions into the world, the husband brings back newspapers, and now and then a book or a crude picture, all of which serve to quicken an interest in the larger life of the country. He rehearses stories of political struggles, of remarkable happenings, and rumors of many kinds which he has heard at the little trading village. Thus vague notions of outside activities penetrate even to this frontier cabin. On the other hand, his reports of the rich region in which his lot is cast are carried away and scattered by the men with whom he barter. These trading tours are not the only means of communication with the outside world which the family has. More and more frequently, parties of emigrants, attracted by reports of the raft ferry, are passing the river from the north on their way to join the westward trail which, following the high ground of the "divide," avoids crossing the creeks. They halt for a time to rest and to barter goods. But the gold fever burns in these folk and soon drives them forward again toward the fabled mountains of the West. This contagion infects the settlers, and they are on the verge of resuming the long-broken journey, but

Emigrants
pass over the
ferry

the thought of sacrificing the fruit of their years of labor for an uncertain prize in a far-distant land sobers them before the decisive step is taken.

For the last two or three years the husband has been made uneasy by rumors of land commissioners and new laws affecting all this great territory in which he has settled. He is haunted by the fear of being ousted from his farm on which he has spent so much of labor and of goods. He resolves not to extend his cultivation until he knows more definitely what to expect. The uncertainty of tenure retards the progress of his industry and disturbs his mind. Vagueness of reports and inaccuracy of information, seriously affect his economic activity. But the fears prove groundless. Government surveys are made, homestead laws are promulgated, the original settler files his claim, gains undisputed title to his quarter section, and takes up his work with renewed confidence and redoubled vigor.

Uncertainty of
land tenure
affects the
farmer's
activity

§ 48. The children, quickly growing from helpless charges into active, eager-minded little people, present a new problem to their parents. The young minds must be taught and disciplined. The knowledge and experience of the parents must be transmitted to their offspring. Thus to their other duties, the father and mother must add those of pedagogue. Simple lessons in the alphabet, in reading, and writing are a source of difficulty and fatigue to both teachers and taught. But with fidelity the foundations are laid as best they may be. In technical training the course of instruction runs far more smoothly. The oldest child, a boy, spends hours in his father's company, attains skill with his hands, learns the reasons for doing things, and begins to have ambitions for the future. The next child, a girl, is in a similar way her mother's companion, and acquires by the objective method, knowledge and dexterity. The third little

Educating the
children

generally

and technically

one, a tiny maid too young to be of any industrial service, is the idol of the household.

Death of a
child

Suddenly one night she is attacked with croup. The simple household remedies fail in a case which requires the resources of a skilled physician, and death invades the little cabin. There are no friends to give aid and consolation. The bereaved family must be sufficient for its own needs. Isolation in health and prosperity is hard enough, but in sorrow and pain it is doubly desolate. There is a higher interdependence among men than that of economic relations.

Sorrow in
isolation

Homestead
laws stimulate
settlement

The governmental action concerning homesteads stimulates an interest among people farther east, and the sections of land in the vicinity of the original farm are rapidly occupied. The trail running east and west three miles south of the river gradually assumes the character of a highway. The log ferry has determined the location of a north and south trail that, after passing the river, branches into two routes, one of which turns eastward, the other westward, to join the road along the "divide." The increase of travel from the north renders necessary a rebuilding of the raft on a larger scale, and in a more substantial manner. Thus the ferry becomes a point at which several important lines of travel converge. The next chapter will describe the community group formed by the families in this vicinity.

The ferry
determines a
highway

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

The student is urged to undertake a careful examination of a given farmer's family with which he may be familiar. The following topics are suggested for guidance in the investigation:—

1. *The region in general:* (*a*) conformation of the surface; (*b*) character of the soil; (*c*) wood and water supply; (*d*) climate; (*e*) game and fish.

2. *Relation of the family to the land*: (a) the conditions of the original survey; (b) how far are boundaries determined by natural features, streams, etc.; (c) extent of the farm; (d) nature of the title.

3. *The buildings*: (a) what determined the location of the house; (b) character of the house; (c) number and character of barns and other structures.

4. *Other property*: (a) tools and implements; (b) seed; (c) horses and cattle; (d) household furniture; (e) clothing; (f) books and pictures; (g) accumulations.

5. *Products of the farm*: (a) cereals; (b) garden vegetables; (c) milk, butter, and cheese; (d) poultry and eggs; (e) pork, mutton, and beef.

6. *Personal elements*: (a) nationality and early training of husband and wife; (b) general characteristics common to both; (c) peculiarities of each; (d) number, age, and sex of children; (e) general characteristics; (f) peculiarities; (g) number of servants and employees—nationalities.

7. *Domestic economy*: (a) division of tasks between husband and wife; (b) industrial service of children; (c) plan of cultivation; (d) domestic manufacture; (e) food and cooking; (f) protection against danger; (g) cure of disease.

8. *Intellectual and religious life*: (a) topics of conversation; (b) education of children; (c) amount and nature of reading; (d) political convictions; (e) church affiliations; (f) standards of taste; (g) standards of conduct,—how far influenced by the religious element.

9. *Contact with society*: (a) means of transportation; (b) economic relations; (c) social intercourse; (d) intellectual contact through the press and post office.

CHAPTER II

THE RURAL GROUP

Eleven families form a neighborhood group

§ 49. We have seen that, by the promulgation of homestead laws, settlers were attracted to the public domain, and that several families took up land within two miles of the ferry. These families, eleven in all, including the first comers, form a more or less related social group, which it is our present purpose to describe.

These families vary in property, personality, and ideals

First of all, it is important to note that no two of these families are exactly alike in property, education, customs, and ideals. Three of them are from New England, and in general resemble the original settlers, although there are decided differences of temperament and variations of domestic harmony. Two others are German families recently arrived in the country, bringing with them their language, their peculiar standards and usages. Another farm is held by a family from Ohio. Still another, by people from Missouri. Iowa sends one family group. The state of New York is also represented. A family from Ireland completes the list. The population includes also a half-dozen single men attached to different families as hired "farm hands."

The sections represented

Mutual reaction of natural and personal elements

These people have arrived within a period of a few years, and have adopted methods of life, determined by acquired character, physical conditions, and certain reactions, which have resulted from social contact. They are at least loosely united by a common purpose to succeed, and by



a common interest in the progress of the region where they have cast their lot. Within the whole aggregate thus given a measure of coherence, there are other smaller and rather more compactly united groups. The New Englanders are naturally drawn into somewhat intimate relations, while the Germans are almost clannish in their associations. Yet these combinations are, at best, potential rather than actual. The arduous toil which the struggle with nature demands, the distances which separate the members of the community, and the almost entire absence of institutions for social intercourse prevent the realization of existing possibilities.

The government survey has divided the prairie into sections a mile square, which are subdivided into quarter sections, half-quarter sections, and even smaller allotments. These rectangular areas have been secured under prescribed conditions of settlement by the families of the group. In selecting their farms, these people have been influenced chiefly by the presence of water, so that we find the location of claims determined by the river and by a creek which winds through the region. The trails, which at first wandered over the prairie along lines of least resistance, are now in several cases, where they pass between farms, straightened to approximately accurate east and west or north and south directions. Footpaths and new trails or roads are worn from place to place as the necessities of the community require, so that each cabin is connected with at least the principal lines of travel. So much for the general aspect of the country and the artificial arrangements which it manifests. What of the life of the people?

In general, each family carries on much the same kind of existence as that described in the last chapter. There is varied domestic industry, division of tasks, and education of children. These activities are not performed equally well by all the families. Two or three parents are slothful, im-

Common bond

Groups within the group

Absence of social institutions

The government survey

Farms located along river and creek

Trails and footpaths

Similarity of family life and tasks

provident, and neglectful of duties toward their sons and daughters.

Economic and
social pre-
eminence of
the pioneer
family

The original resources of the group were not the same, and they are used with varying degrees of intelligence, enterprise, and fidelity. The first family, in point of time, has the advantage of longer permanent settlement, and the accumulation of improvements, and other property, of which the ferry forms an important part. The pioneers, therefore, hold a position of economic, and vaguely of social, preëminence. They have been able to provide their neighbors with building materials, seed, food, cattle, and other supplies during the early months of settlement, and have thus added to their own store of wealth, which has been invested in further improvements, such as remodeling the cabin, building a new ferry raft, extending lines of fences, and buying better implements.

Beginnings of
coöperative
effort

§ 50. But all services rendered to newcomers in the community are not for economic profit. Cabins are now built quickly by many willing hands, and the work becomes an occasion for social gatherings. If a hut or a barn takes fire, the unhappy owner is sure of some neighborly assistance, even though distance renders it far from efficacious. When sickness comes to a home, there are friends who hasten thither with many infallible remedies handed down by tradition from remote grandmothers.

Tendency to
specialization
appears

Although each household carries on its own production in more or less independence, a tendency to coöperation and specialization early appears. The nearest distributing center is eighty miles to the east. It is but natural that the first settler, who has horses and wagons and produces more for the market than his neighbors, should on his frequent journeys execute commissions for them. Gradually he becomes a common carrier for the group. Thus the task of

A common
carrier

transportation is, in some degree, although not by any means wholly, given over to one who devotes himself largely to the special activity. The ferry service from the very beginning has been a social task of this sort. Every farmer may own horses and wagon, but he does not keep a private raft moored to the river bank. He pays his neighbor to ferry him across.

The ferry renders a special social service

The products of the several farms, although agriculture is very slightly diversified, are not equal in quantity, and the standards of life vary with the different families. Consequently one household may have a surplus of potatoes and feel the need of corn, while another may be in just the opposite situation. Hence arises the device of exchange, which is carried on at first by barter. In addition to this local exchange, each family is effecting exchanges of products for finished articles at the distant market town.

Exchange begins to take place

It occurs to the ferryman and common carrier that conditions warrant the establishment of a general store. He therefore builds on his farm, near the ferry landing, a small log cabin, which he stocks with such articles as he thinks his neighbors will need during the next few months. He barter his wares for farm products, which he either disposes of again to neighborhood customers, or carries to the distant trading post, or he may sell his goods for money. The store thus serves as a clearing house for local exchanges, and a channel through which to export products and to import supplies of manufactured goods. The establishment of the store gradually affects the economic activity of the community. Since many things heretofore home-made are now easily obtainable, they become less and less articles of domestic manufacture. Effort is directed more exclusively to agriculture, and thus certain branches of industry are little by little turned over to specially organized distant factories, with which the store puts the rural

A store established

It is a clearing house for local exchanges and a channel for export and import

Farmers come to depend on distant factories

group into communication. In this way the newly formed community establishes more permanent and systematic relations with society as a whole.

Blacksmith
forge set up

The storekeeper extends his enterprises still further by hiring a blacksmith, and setting up a small shop near the store. Iron-working in the vicinity is, after a time, surrendered to this agency until it becomes well-nigh a lost art upon the farm. Several members of the community develop conspicuous abilities in different directions. One man is skillful at hewing logs and at rude carpentry, another is respected as a veterinary surgeon, a third is a capital builder of clay chimneys. The women, too, have reputations for various talents. In consequence, these skilled laborers are summoned to render services upon which the community comes gradually to rely. True, the dependence is slight, but the tendency to specialize is distinctly traceable.

Different per-
sons display
special
capacities

Interdepend-
ence conspic-
uous first in the
establishment
of a school

§ 51. This organic tendency is conspicuous in the early establishment of a school at a point whence branching trails and footpaths radiate toward the cabins, scattered over the rolling prairie. The building, a pole framework covered with "shakes," long writhing boards hand-riven from the knotty oaks of the river bottoms, serves to protect, except in the severest weather, the children who sit upon the rudest and hardest of benches. A daughter of one of the New England families is installed as mistress of the school, to which she gives almost her whole time. Her compensation is fixed by a committee, who see that the funds are collected from the parents. These, almost without exception, are only too glad to turn their children over to this special educational agency, which they feel can render far better service than their homes can offer. The Germans are pleased that their little ones should have a

Children
turned over to
this social
agency

chance to learn English and to associate with the American children. The Irishman is a little dubious about the religious instruction that may be introduced into the school exercises, but on the whole approves, and takes advantage of the plan. One or two families, who get the idea that the institution is being dominated by the New Englanders, hold aloof for a time, but yield finally to the pleading of their children.

While the school soon assumes almost the entire responsibility for general primary education in the community, the homes continue to train children in various domestic employments which require technical skill. The boys are made more or less proficient in plowing, planting, reaping and thrashing, in the care of horses and cattle, in mending harness, splitting fence rails, and in many other things. The girls learn to churn, to make cheese, to bake bread, to fashion garments, and to perform the other tasks which fall to the share of women in this form of society. Manual training is prominent in this rural educational system.

Manual
training still
taught at
home

The few books and papers, which come rather more frequently now that fairly regular communication is established with the outside world, afford means of keeping in at least slight contact with the wider life of society. But even if the press were more active, its influence upon these toiling folk would not be great. They are eager for tidings of great events, especially for news of such governmental action as may affect their own interests, but they have little time or thought for literature worthy of the name.

Occasional
papers and
books exert
but slight
influence on
the toiling
population

Letters are now carried back and forth between the post office at the market town and the store by the ferry, so that each family is in more or less frequent communication with its distant relatives and friends.

Spasmodic
postal service
established

Social life still
indefinite

The store a
social center

Foreign ele-
ment looked
down upon

Authorities
emerge

The store a
source of local
and foreign
news

§ 52. The distinctly social life of the neighborhood has not taken definite form. The store is, perhaps, the most important social center. It is a clearing house not only for economic exchanges, but for facts of observation, and for rumors of all kinds. The clerk in charge, or the casual group of neighbors, is the medium through which news from every household is gathered up and then distributed throughout the community. Information and gossip from abroad are, for the most part, disseminated from this center. Here the farmers, meeting casually or by habit, discuss crops and cattle, weather and politics. At these gatherings "Dutch Jake" and his countryman, if they chance to be present, are kept in due subordination as foreigners, and the Irishman is treated rather as an object of banter than as an equal. Inasmuch as these men have peculiar traits, are apparently, at least, deficient in trained intelligence, and have such insufficient resources that they are compelled oftentimes to work for their neighbors, they are relegated to a somewhat inferior social position. Among the Americans there are certain antipathies, political and geographical, which give zest to the debates and slowly effect a more or less perceptible grouping of the participants. Authorities also emerge, who assert superiority and gain recognition by virtue either of manifest ability or strength of personality. These authorities influence their hearers in many ways, dictating opinions, advising plans of agriculture, and urging courses of conduct. The meetings at the store afford opportunities also for romancing. Tales of personal experience, feats of horsemanship, almost miraculous success in fishing and hunting, stories of other days in the old home, are here recounted. Strangers passing through the district stop at the store, which is also something of a tavern, and repeat rumors which they have heard along their routes, — stories of new towns springing up in a

night, or of the California gold fields. Almost all that is talked of at the store is reported in each family by its representative, usually the father or an elder son.

There is nothing which corresponds to the store as a social nucleus for the women, who are kept almost steadily at home by their exacting and persistent duties. Now and then a quilting party will give excuse for an afternoon of coöperative work and social talk, but such an event is rare. The women, as such, can hardly be said to have any peculiar social life. An annual picnic in the woods by the river, an event early instituted by the New England colony, is looked forward to with great interest, and affords an admirable opportunity to young and old for relaxation and social intercourse.

The service, which is held on alternate Sundays in the schoolhouse under the charge of a good farmer deacon, is made an occasion both of religious worship and of social gossip. There are, besides, during the year, a half-dozen tea parties, to which nearest or most congenial neighbors are bidden. A few formal visits are paid, chiefly, however, in cases of sickness.

A singing school and an occasional spelling match bring together the young people especially, and furnish a highly prized element of entertainment, if not a very valuable educational impulse.

It is noticeable that these different social gatherings create an interest in dress, particularly among the women, who give slightly more heed to such matters and make for them a place in their conversation, which also deals largely with diseases, weather, and domestic matters.

In these specifically social arrangements, the pioneer family asserts, and is more or less graciously accorded, a measure of leadership, in which its more intimate friends among the New Englanders, to some extent, share. Very vaguely, almost imperceptibly, a sort of separation into

Women's
social life
limited

Quilting
parties

Annual picnic

Religious
service

Infrequent tea
parties and
visits

Singing school
and spelling
matches

Dress and con-
versation

Beginnings of
social strati-
fication
traceable

social layers is taking place among the native Americans themselves. This tendency is clearly shown in their attitude toward the Germans and Irish.

Influence of
weather and
roads on social
intercourse

It is noticeable, also, that social intercourse is affected by the changes in the seasons and the condition of the trails and roads. In summer, the prairie is hard and dry, offering a firm, smooth surface to foot and wheel, but in winter and spring, moisture turns the soil into an adhesive mass, which makes travel extremely difficult. There is rarely enough snow to insure good sleighing, so that, at certain times in the year, the different families are comparatively isolated, and go abroad only when they must.

Religious life

§ 53. Religious life in the group is chiefly confined to the individual homes, although, as we have seen, a fortnightly service is held in the schoolhouse. Several different denominations are represented in the community. The New Englanders, who predominate, are, with one exception, Congregationalists. There are two Baptist families, and one Methodist. The Germans are Lutherans, the Irishman is a Roman Catholic, and the two other families have no church connections whatever.

Denominations
represented

Sectarian dif-
ferences give
rise to dis-
sension

No common
worship

Theological differences are so pronounced, that the meeting, originally designed to be inter-denominational, is soon abandoned by all except the Congregationalists, whose ideas of worship seem to the Methodist cold and formal, while the Baptist insists that both hold dangerously loose views of doctrines and ordinances. The Germans cannot understand enough English to enjoy the exercises, and the Irishman feels a patronizing pity for the whole company of misguided schismatics. The often acrimonious discussions at the store serve only to emphasize these differences of belief and prejudice. In consequence, irregular family prayers, private devotions, and the occasional reading of

sermons constitute, in the main, the religious worship of the neighborhood.

Standards of conduct vary, within certain limits, according to the education and traditions of the different families. There is a general unformulated agreement upon a fundamental code, and transgressions of this are resented, sometimes vaguely, sometimes very definitely, by the community. For example, when it is reported at the store that a farmer—one of the dubious members of the community—has, in a fit of rage, beaten his wife, a most determined committee wait upon him and give warning of dire punishment if the offense is repeated. The careless pollution of the creek by another man is protested against in vain by a neighbor lower down the stream. The matter is laid before the council at the ferry, and the transgressor forthwith mends his ways. A "claim jumper," who sets up a cabin on land which has been rightfully preëmpted by another, is put with all his goods into his wagon, driven five miles on the road southward, and there bidden farewell with very forceful injunctions not to return. The governmental machinery of justice has not been regularly established, and meantime, these men are doing the work in a vigorous, if not a ceremonious, fashion.

General unwritten code enforced by public opinion and action

A wife beater

A "claim jumper"

Moreover, public opinion and imitation are quietly at work among these people. Almost unconsciously they influence each other and readjust their ideals and practices. The German husbands gradually withdraw their wives from the tasks which they see their neighbors deem unfit for women, and the Irishman reluctantly exiles from his family the pig, which he soon learns is not approved by his fellow-citizens as a household pet. The Americans learn, perhaps for the first time, that certain German dishes are worthy of adoption, and several lads are only too glad to acquire the spirited steps of an Irish jig.

The different elements of population modify each other

Degenerate
families

Lazy and dis-
sipated
husband

Farm de-
generates

Children
undisciplined

Whole com-
munity in a
measure
affected

Discordant
home

Family divided

Social life
embittered

§ 54. It has been hinted that certain families are not valuable additions to the economic and social life of the community. In the case of at least two homes, the family life is discordant, and disintegration and degeneration are at work. The husband in one home is lazy, improvident, and brutal. He does little work and spends much of his time loafing about the ferry, now and then getting a drink of liquor from passing travelers. His expeditions to the market town are always occasions for debauchery. The neglected farm yields meager crops, the cabin, never substantial, goes from bad to worse; the disheartened wife does her tasks perfunctorily. The children, in such circumstances, are ill-clad, undisciplined, and lawless. They attend school very irregularly, and they are looked at askance by parents as dangerous companions for their children. From one journey to market the drunken father never returns. For a time the family struggles feebly for independence, but at last the neighbors have to give aid, and the mother and children become more or less a burden, until the latter are old enough to find employment on the farms of others, or to continue the cultivation of their own.

In the second family, matters are hardly less serious. The husband is a domineering, hard, relentless person; the wife a weak, faded, and discouraged creature with very little character and ambition. The contempt which the man displays toward her is manifest to the children, some of whom join their father in abuse and ridicule, while others take up the defense of their mother. The life of the family, thus divided, is unhappy in the extreme. All the worse elements of disposition are exaggerated by constant and irritating strife. Members of this family are unwelcome guests. They bring discord into all social gatherings. Their influence is not limited to their own home, but in so far as there is common life in the group, they add to it an element of bitterness.

We have drawn in mere outline a sketch of this rural group, a collection of families living in primitive log cabins, carrying on early and late the hardest kind of labor, having only the rudiments of social organization in a general store, a school, and occasional gatherings, maintaining precarious connection with the outside world, vaguely regulating, by common opinion or by force, the general conduct of individuals, yet advancing step by step from virtual independence of family groups toward coherent social organization. This progress is hastened by a sudden change in conditions. Recapitulation

§ 55. One morning, a party of travelers cross the ferry, and halt at the store. They examine the spot with interest ; they ascend a low hill near the river, and secure a broader outlook. Before sunset a town site has been located and a town association formed. In new countries social evolution is rapid. Types of organization, which represent possibly centuries of growth, are at once transferred to the frontier. In a sense it is true that a western town begins at the point which an eastern town has just reached. The men who have organized this company have confidence in the future of this newly opened territory. They believe that centers of trade and industry will soon be needed and that a nucleus wisely placed will gather population and economic strength with great rapidity. Arrival of prospectors

A town located

The pioneer of the region and several of the other farmers are induced to become members of the town association, which lays claim, in accordance with provisions of the law, to a section of land as a town site. The section chosen is near the river and adjoins the original farm. The southeast half quarter of this section is in dispute between two claimants, one of whom has settled on the land itself, the other, on the next half quarter to the east, asserting that his quarter sec- Local farmers join the town association

Town
boundaries
affected by
claimants'
quarrel

tion is made up of these two halves. Fearing possible litigation, the town company abandons a triangular piece of land in the southeast corner, which both contestants agree to regard as constituting their whole claim on the section. To compensate themselves for this loss, the company buys from a farmer on the north a somewhat larger triangle, which gives the town a river frontage of more than half a mile. The site thus modified by circumstances has a peculiar shape, which remains a monument to a settlers' contest.

The survey of
the town

Surveyors are hired to divide the land into streets and lots, which they do with mathematical precision. In order that the main avenues shall traverse longitudinally the low hills which stretch like waves of earth across the region, they are made to run, not exactly north and south, or east and west, but at an angle of about thirty degrees to these directions. By this arrangement the drainage of the future city will be easily effected. The blocks formed by the intersection of these streets are subdivided into lots 75×150 feet.

Distribution of
lots

When the survey has been completed, the members of the company, in accordance with a prearranged plan, are permitted, in a certain order, to choose a designated number of these lots. When all claims have been satisfied, the undistributed lots are the property of the company, which may dispose of them by gift or sale as it sees fit.

Lots as in-
ducements to
capitalists to
settle

For the first few years lots are freely bestowed upon all who will conform to certain requirements as to buildings and other improvements. They are also given as bonuses to induce business concerns, manufactories, hotel keepers, and the like, to settle in the town.

The title to the land being secured and the division of lots effected, the company individually and collectively sets vigorously to work. In one way or another all the original farmers of the vicinity are lot owners, and moreover, by virtue

of being large land holders in the neighborhood, are interested in the progress of the town.

It is impossible to describe in detail the rapid growth of the next five years, during which the settlement advances to the organization of a village of five hundred inhabitants.

The urgent demand for building materials results in the erection of a steam sawmill, to which a gristmill is soon added. A few feet below the surface of the soil, not far from the town site, quantities of limestone are found, which supplies not only building material, but lime for the mortar as well. A new ferryboat is built by the ferry master. A tavern, a new schoolhouse, a new store, and a number of private houses are rapidly put up. A line of stage coaches is established, which, passing north and south by way of the ferry, maintain weekly communication with the market town to the east, and carry the mails. Thus within the magnificently mapped out area of the coming city a village is formed, which will serve as the subject of our next chapter.

Sawmill and
gristmill built

Ferryboat

Tavern, store,
etc.

Stage line and
mail route
established

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

The study of a rural group should include more or less detailed examination of facts suggested by the following topics:—

1. *Natural conditions*: (a) conformation of the surface; (b) nature of the soil; (c) supplies of water and fuel; (d) climate.

2. *Relation to the soil*: (a) original survey; (b) influence of natural features on division of territory.

3. *Artificial arrangements*: (a) dwellings; (b) barns; (c) roads and footpaths.

4. *Personal elements*: (a) general character of each family as a unit (see Subjects, page 110); (b) nationalities; (c) economic condition of each family; (d) educational experience; (e) religious and ecclesiastical characteristics; (f) political affiliations.

5. *Groupings of population*: (a) economic; (b) racial; (c) religious; (d) political; (e) according to education; (f) according to age; (g) according to sex; (h) intermarriage between children of different families.

6. *Coöperative economic activity*: (a) in building; (b) in agriculture; (c) in meat supply; (d) in special services by individuals, doctor, minister, school teacher, etc.

7. *Social institutions*: (a) school; (b) church; (c) general store; (d) gatherings for social intercourse; (e) entertainments; (f) games and sports.

8. *Psychical activities*: (a) local means of communication; (b) store discussions; (c) political meetings; (d) general topics of conversation; (e) amount and character of general reading; (f) list of books in family libraries.

9. *Reaction of personal elements*: (a) common interest and spirit; (b) character of public opinion—strong or feeble; (c) standards of public conduct; (d) of private conduct.

10. *Regulation of conduct*: (a) influence of morality and religion; (b) influence of home discipline; (c) influence of public opinion; (d) influence of collective action; (e) influence of regularly constituted legal authority.

11. *Contact with society as a whole*: (a) means of communication; (b) economic relations; (c) psychical contact through books and periodicals.

12. *Abnormal conditions*: (a) unhealthful natural conditions of water supply, sanitation, and climate; (b) disputes as to boundaries and titles; (c) ill-made houses and bad roads; (d) families degenerate in material possessions, or personal relations, or both; (e) group antagonisms, quarrels, and feuds; (f) failures to coöperate; (g) no school, or church, or social life; (h) little communication of ideas, meager and idle talk, little reading, worthless or demoralizing literature; (i) low standard of morality; (j) vicious and criminal individuals.

MAP

A map of the district should be drawn to show: (a) natural features; (b) artificial division into farms; (c) roads and footpaths; (d) buildings. Different colors should be used to indicate: (e) social institutions; (f) certain grades of economic status of the several families.

CHAPTER III

THE VILLAGE

§ 56. In picturing to the mind the prairie settlement as it appears five years after its formal founding, the student must not be misled by the map which shows the official survey, and the division into lots and streets. These broad avenues and capacious blocks are, for the most part, marked only by stakes, which are hidden in the waving grass. The trails and roads, when they leave the hamlet by the ferry, wander over the prairie regardless of the geometrical courses that have been laid down for them. It is only near the river that the relative positions of buildings suggest the rectangular divisions of the town site.

General
aspect of the
settlement

The thoroughfare from the landing place southward has been deflected from its original path to pass for a short distance through the main avenue, whence it returns to its former course. The number of roads and footways, if mere traffic-worn lines in the prairie deserve the names, has been largely increased by the repeated wayfaring of a growing population. Even where the town survey has been recognized, the actual course of travel is in meandering lines, which only narrowly avoid trespass, now on one side, now on the other. On the main avenue and on one or two neighboring streets, the dark soil has been trodden into footpaths, which connect house with house, but elsewhere man, beast, and wagon follow the same road.

Influence of
survey on
roads and
paths

The buildings of the village display various materials and

Buildings

and archi-
tecture of the
village

Sawmill

Tavern

plans of construction. On the bottoms near the ferry landing is the saw and grist mill framed with hewn cottonwood timbers and sided with rough boards. The blacksmith shop has been set up near by. A short distance south, on a corner, stands a store, built by the ferry owner as a successor to the little log cabin in which he first set up shop. This structure is of wood also, and gives testimony to the successful operation of the sawmill. The warehouse opposite is a similar, but rather ruder, building. Two blocks further south is the tavern or hotel, an imposing edifice of three stories; the first two of limestone, the third of wood. On a side street are the schoolhouse, a marked advance upon the "shake" cabin, and the Congregational Church, a very plain, steepleless sanctuary of wood. The dwellings range from the original type of log and mud shanty to a stone house of some pretensions. These domiciles are scattered along the main avenue and two or three streets. There is apparently no grouping of houses according to size and material. The humblest dugout is neighbor to the best stone dwelling.

✓ No territorial
separation of
well to do and
poor

No cemetery has, as yet, been definitely fixed upon. Up to this time the dead have been buried in what the survey shows to be the middle of a street, as yet untouched by traffic. Thus common land is used until the bodies can be transferred to a permanent place of burial.

The popula-
tion is cosmo-
politan

The people who have wrought these changes in the aspect of the region represent many different states and several foreign countries. The New England element still predominates, although there are many men and families from the Central States. Germans, Scandinavians, and Irish have come also, but in much smaller numbers. A considerable proportion of the villagers are men who have emigrated in advance of their families. As soon as a plan of permanent settlement is decided upon, wives and children are sent for, and family life is resumed.



The motives which have brought many of these folk hither are not wholly economic. A strong political influence has been at work, an earnest desire to people the new territory in the interest of a most important governmental policy. We have not time or space to discuss this movement, but we cannot omit mention of this motive, which so largely explains the rapidity of increase in immigration and settlement.

An influence which hastens growth

As we have seen, several of the farmers who formed the original neighborhood group, notably the ferry master, were concerned in founding the town. These men continue to manage their farms, but three or four of them have built houses in the village and have taken up residence there.

Farmers move into the village

§ 57. In the case of the farmers, it was easy to point out the chief sources of income, but it is less simple to discover the means by which many of the villagers support themselves. The wage earners, the carpenters, the masons, the sawyers, the miller, and the rest derive their means of support very directly. The hotel proprietor, the storekeeper, the mill owner, and the ferry master also receive revenues readily accounted for, but all these people are largely supported by the population as a whole, including both the permanent residents and transient visitors. Ignoring the latter, we inquire how far the region may be said actually to support its population.

The economic organization of the community

The agricultural products of the vicinity, the building materials, wood and stone, are local natural resources which, through the medium of their owners, are put at the service of the community. In addition to these means of support, which, at present, are hardly adequate to the maintenance of the whole group, an element of fictitious or speculative value is attached to the town lots, in which there is a brisk trade, not only between members of the village, but with purchasers from abroad, who are willing to ad-

The region does not adequately support its population

Wealth from abroad

Speculation in
land

vance wealth and hold the land for prospective gain. Thus those residents who have accumulated reserve wealth can afford both to retain their own original lots and gradually to buy more, while nonresidents purchase land and await the results of development. Again, farmers and others, confident of their ability to secure ample returns from the investment of capital in agriculture or industry, borrow money from abroad, and give mortgages on their property as security. So, in several ways, wealth from many parts of the country is drawn to this spot to aid in maintaining the population, at least temporarily, and in developing natural resources until they shall prove more nearly equal to the demands of this newly forming society.

Money bor-
rowed on
mortgages

Service of the
store and ware-
house

The store serves the village in much the same way that it did the rural group, offering a channel for the importation of goods and the exportation of products. The increased quantity and variety of the stock bear testimony to enlarged and diversified demand of the community. The warehouse is used for the storing of grain, hides, lime, and other materials which are collected from the region. The local demand for these articles having been satisfied, the surplus is shipped away, either by wagon or by one of the light-draught steamers which now and then in the early days make their way up the shallow river.

The establish-
ment of
productive
industries

The mill renders an essential service, heretofore uneconomically and inefficiently performed by isolated individuals, or left to distant industries. It transforms corn and wheat into meal and flour, and divides logs into even timbers, planks, and boards. These necessary articles are so bulky that they are not easily transported by wagon, and are, therefore, most economically manufactured on the spot. Thus the village possesses two most important industries, and is no longer wholly dependent upon remote centers. The blacksmith shop has enlarged its operations

to include the repairing and even the rebuilding of wagons, and may justly claim a place among local manufactories.

The difficulty, and, in some places the impossibility, of finding water by means of wells makes it necessary to draw it in barrels from the river. Many families perform this service for themselves, but still others give employment to a man, who spends much of his time in this special work. Wood for fuel, obtained chiefly from the groves on the river bottoms, is either sold by those who have laid claim to wooded lands, or is taken by the community from such sections as have not yet been preëmpted. The local wood supply is limited, and will not long meet the needs of the population.

Water and fuel
supplies

Not only are industrial activities being performed by special agencies, but other tasks of society are intrusted to persons preëminently devoted to them. Two doctors are now within call if a member of the community falls ill. Three lawyers, one of them a notary public, are ready to aid clients in perfecting land titles, transferring property, drawing contracts, or pressing suits before the court, which is held thirty miles away. A Congregational minister, supported chiefly by a missionary society, has become resident pastor of the local church. The school is now under the charge of a young woman from Massachusetts, who is assisted by a daughter of one of the village doctors. Yet this specialization is by no means complete. The doctors and lawyers do considerable work in their own gardens, they take a more or less active part in the real estate business, and in other ways display a good deal of versatility. On the whole, however, their chief occupations are clearly recognized as their peculiar vocations.

Professional
services are
also available

§ 58. The collective life of the village presents a marked contrast to that of the rural group. Virtual similarity of family and of individual activities has given place to diversity

Village life
produces
diversity of
family life

already well defined, at the same time with a change from a widely scattered to a comparatively concentrated arrangement of dwellings. Family occupations in the village resemble, in many respects, life on the farm. Almost every family owns cows and at least one horse, while several households, as we have seen, retain active connection with farms in the neighborhood. A vegetable garden is, as a rule, part of each establishment, which, in this way, provides itself with important food products. Newly arrived families and a few others depend upon the store or upon neighbors for these supplies.

Domestic
labor is
lightened

Domestic labor, however, for those housewives who have no such farm responsibilities, is perceptibly lighter. While in many homes butter and cheese are still articles of domestic manufacture, there is a tendency on the part of several families to buy these products ready-made from farmers, or at the store. So, too, milk is sold by a man to his neighbor, or to a group of families. Little by little, households grow less independent, each of the other and of the market, and come to rely more and more upon external sources of supply. The villagers are held in closer economic relations than were the members of the rural community.

Families come
to be dependent
upon each
other

Those citizens who have no homes of their own either become temporarily members of families, as boarders, or live at the hotel, which, as a special social agency, provides food and shelter for all comers.

Division of
social tasks
affords larger
opportunities
to many homes

Different forms of social service produce different conditions of family life. The doctor's or the lawyer's profession is free from the physical toil which leaves to the farmer little opportunity for leisure, reading, and conversation. Many of the villagers are thus able to introduce into their households elements of sociability and culture which are usually excluded from the farm. For these families, home life, other things being equal, becomes more interesting, and its educa-

tional value for children is greatly increased. The improved work of the school is in many cases supplemented by better home influences.

It should be noticed, however, that technical or manual education diminishes in proportion as domestic production decreases in variety and is turned over to special industrial agencies. The village boy learns to do fewer things with his hands than does the farmer lad. The girls' tasks are no less affected. Yet during this period of transition, the difference is in many cases far from conspicuous. Only the general tendency is to be observed.

Manual training at home decreases

Other important means of education in the form of books and newspapers now enter the community in considerably larger numbers, relatively to the population—an increase due both to greater regularity of transportation; and to the new demand which, as we have seen, is created by the modified conditions of village life.

More books and papers are read

Even the manual workers of the community—the carpenters, masons, miller, lumbermen, and blacksmith—enjoy more freedom from responsibility and often have more leisure than the average energetic farmer. The very fact of frequent contact with neighbors, and the sight and sympathetic sharing of activity, stimulate and intensify their lives.

All citizens are stimulated by more compact social life

We have so far treated each family as in itself a group with a single social occupation. Of the farmer's family this is approximately true, but in the village household, where there are adult children, several activities are often represented. Thus the doctor's oldest son is a lawyer, another son is a clerk in the store, and the daughter is the assistant in the school. Families so constituted are drawn into more or less intimate relations with other families and individuals, the area of friendships and acquaintance is extended, and larger groups are more firmly united in sympathy and interest. Again, it must be pointed out, that, at this stage

Several occupations may be represented in one family

of social development, we find these influences just beginning to be effective rather than fully at work.

No wide distinctions of wealth

In only a few village families are more than one or two activities represented. As a rule, the occupation of the father determines roughly the classification of his wife and children. Thus there are carpenters' families, masons' families, lawyers' families, and the like, as well, of course, as single men also distinguished by occupation. All these people are living in proximity in the village. They are not very widely separated in wealth; they are for the most part upon terms of friendly acquaintance. The community is, in its general aspects, homogeneous; yet there are differences in personality, property, race, and education which are already quietly effecting social groupings, producing subtle sympathies and antagonisms, giving rise to misconceptions and prejudices, and in manifold ways setting at work forces which will gain in power and manifest themselves more plainly as social organization progresses.

Forces of social separation are already at work

Social institutions

§ 59. Among the specifically social institutions of the village the more important are store and tavern gatherings, church meetings, religious and secular, political meetings, school exhibitions, singing classes, sewing societies, tea parties, lodge meetings, and other group assemblages of a less general character.

The store still a social center

The store, although hard pressed by its rival, the tavern, maintains its supremacy as a place of general public resort. The appointment of the proprietor as postmaster, and the establishing of the office in the store, cause large numbers to visit the place at least once each week. Here the greater leisure which characterizes village life is spent by certain men in social intercourse, especially during long winter evenings. The conversation turns now less upon farming and more upon town lots and politics. The average

of intelligence is perceptibly higher than it used to be in the earlier days, but the same emergence of authorities and division into groups or parties is observable.

Greater
intelligence

Not only men, but women, who have less exacting duties, and much shorter distances to traverse, now visit the store. The latter come ostensibly only to buy. They do not congregate or linger as the men are wont to do, but they hear and tell many items of news while they bargain with the clerk or chat with neighbors while the mail is being distributed. The store is still the leading center for local and foreign news.

Women have
more leisure
for social
intercourse

The tavern or hotel holds an important place in the community as the temporary home of many of the men who are either unmarried or have left their families behind, and as the halting place of the stage coach, which connects the village with the outside world. It is, therefore, a *rendezvous* for some of the most active elements of the population. There is, besides, a barroom which provides a convenient and comfortable place for social intercourse, and furnishes means of conviviality. Many things combine to make the tavern attractive to a large class in the community, and yet the sale of liquor, the card playing, often for high stakes, and the questionable character of many who frequent the place, repel an even greater number of citizens. The establishment, however, seems to meet, as no other institution does, certain demands for a place of resort for casual conversation, for discussion of local interests, and for planning public measures. Yet it is a source of separation in the community. Many men refuse to go there, while, on the other hand, its supporters are disinclined to meet at the store or elsewhere.

The tavern

An attractive
place, but a
source of
danger and
separation

Church affiliations have a marked influence on the social life of the village. The Congregationalists are fully organized with a meetinghouse and a pastor. The Baptists have

Church
organizations

They afford
occasion for
sociability,

but tend to
form more or
less exclusive
groups

A common
political con-
viction is a
strong bond of
union

formed a society and use the school building for regular Sunday and week-day services. The Methodists hold class meetings in private houses, and are rapidly approaching formal church organization. All three groups are eager, to the point of rivalry, to receive new members. The gatherings which are held in connection with these religious societies, the Sunday morning services, the Sunday schools which immediately follow, the week-night prayer meetings, the "socials," donation parties, and the like, give opportunity for social contact and serve to unite more closely those of a given creed. Many of the farmers' families in the vicinity are members of these churches, and attend the services and meetings when toil and roads permit. So, in some measure, the rural and village population are drawn together in social, as well as economic, relations. The competition between the religious bodies is so keen that more or less animosity is aroused. Denominational lines are drawn more and more sharply in social matters even when they are wholly secular. If the Congregationalists plan an entertainment for the benefit of their church, the Baptists are quite likely to hold a meeting of some sort on the same night. When a good Methodist woman invites her friends to supper, she naturally includes those who are interested with her in fully establishing a Methodist church, and those only. Criticisms and slighting remarks get themselves wings in the community and hasten the progress of sectarian division.

Still other groupings, fortunately not identical with religious stratification, are caused by political sympathies and convictions. A territorial government has been formed, and the population is much interested in its activities. Meetings are held in the schoolhouse, and even in the open air, at which impassioned addresses are made. It so happens that this community contains an overwhelming majority earnestly

in favor of the same policy. Thus many of the tendencies to division are largely neutralized for the time being by this absorbing common interest.

The schoolhouse serves many purposes, and is really the public hall of the village. The spelling match and the singing school still hold their places as means of entertainment, to which is occasionally added an exhibition with recitations, and perhaps, at the close, a tableau, looked at askance by strict church people. To these gatherings, young men and maidens go in company, and relations of affection are being established, which, as prosperity appears, will find expression in the formation of new families. Indeed, in spite of the rather unpropitious economic situation, a few weddings have already taken place, and it is rumored that the school mistress will soon leave her position to become the wife of a village widower.

The schoolhouse as a public hall

Entertainments

Private entertainments consist chiefly of supper parties for the older folk, which are confined almost always to denominational groups, young peoples' parties, where games prevail and dancing is frowned upon, and afternoon quilting bees and sewing societies, at which needles and tongues are busy. These gatherings are not representative of the whole society, but become more and more restricted to different social divisions, among which religious bodies are most prominent.

Social gatherings

largely influenced by church lines

The Germans have their own meetings and perpetuate many customs of the *Vaterland*. The three or four Irish families and half dozen single Irishmen form a small colony by themselves, and hold occasional gatherings. They adapt themselves to changed conditions much more rapidly than their Teutonic fellow-citizens. These various social events are by no means frequent, and are looked forward to with much interest. There is considerable casual visiting between households of the same church, although sickness is still regarded as the chief reason for making formal calls.

The foreign elements of population

Dress and fashions	These gatherings display a groping after fashions in dress which are more and more deemed of importance. Authorities in costume are recognized and their garments are imitated. There are epidemics of hoods, "fascinators," and other feminine gear. Conversation busies itself with personal details which life in a compact group quickly makes common property. There are several semi-professional gossip mongers, who temporarily render the service which is later performed by the local press.
Conversation	
The lodge	The lodge, which holds a weekly meeting in a room over the store, includes in its membership active men from almost every group in the community. Doctor, lawyer, mechanic, farmer, laborer, here meet on terms of mysterious friendship, and a union is effected which does much to counteract the tendencies toward division which are at work in the village.
Regulation of conduct	§ 60. Conduct, individual and social, in the village is regulated by family discipline, by custom, by public opinion, and by laws which, with the establishment of a territorial legislature, are constitutionally enacted. The regulations adopted by the town committee also have the force of statutes. Although the legal machinery has been set up, it is still inefficient compared with the vigorous power of certain self-appointed "regulators," who are conscious of the moral support of the community. The transition period has not yet been passed; prompt and firm coercion of unsocial individuals seems essential to the maintenance of order and the march of progress. The fact that village life affords opportunities for frequent contact, for spreading information swiftly, and for gathering crowds quickly, insures a more rapid formation and expression of public opinion and more prompt social action. Thus, when an alarm of fire is passed from mouth to mouth, a crowd of impromptu
Legal machinery established, but not always adequate	
Village life facilitates communication and action	

firemen is almost immediately on hand. Or a serious crime may be committed : forthwith the news spreads ; eager groups gather ; they press on to the store or to the tavern. Speeches are made and applauded, feelings are aroused, decisions are reached, and action follows. The tendency, however, is to permit the law to deal with all criminals, although now and then exceptional cases will be taken in hand by irregular authorities.

As in the rural group, so in the village, there are families and individuals who fall far short of the demands of normal social life. A number of immigrants have come with insufficient resources, and, failing to find means of livelihood or neglecting opportunities, they are compelled to seek at least temporary aid from their neighbors. Others, attracted by love of adventure and without any genuine desire to make a permanent settlement, frequent the tavern, drinking and gambling, influencing dangerously many well-meaning, but weak, young men and menacing the welfare of the community.

Dependent
and unsocial
families and
individuals

It is a conspicuous fact that useful as the tavern is in many ways, it is a source of danger to individuals and families. The citizens of the better class are right in regarding it with fear and aversion. One night, a young boy comes reeling home to his mother, who rushes in an agony of grief to the neighbors. The report spreads ; a crowd gathers. Some one shouts, "Clean out the barroom !" The citizens are a mob at once ; they rush to the tavern, bear down all opposition, and destroy the stock of liquors. Lawsuits follow, and for a time the bar, ostensibly at least, is discontinued. As popular feeling subsides, however, the traffic is quietly and gradually resumed.

Feeling
against the
tavern

A whiskey riot

The villagers, as a body, with such exceptions as have been indicated, are honest, earnest, and diligent, deeply interested in promoting the economic prosperity and general welfare of the town which they are founding.

A summary of the conspicuous characteristics of village as compared with rural life

§ 61. Such, in outline, is the community forming within the carefully planned area of a hoped-for city. The life is characterized (1) by improved economic arrangements and technical devices, (2) by more compact disposition of dwellings, (3) by increasing specialization of social activities and interdependence of families and of individuals, (4) by a rising standard of living, (5) by more complex and frequent social intercourse, (6) by tendencies toward groupings religious, racial, occupational, (7) by higher social intelligence and more coördinated social action, (8) by more regular communication with society at large, and finally (9) by a group spirit or loyalty to the new community on the part of its citizens, which goes far to hold them in a unified whole.

Growth of the village into the town

Greater production

Improvements in material arrangements

§ 62. We can only suggest the steps by which, during the next ten years, the village becomes a town of five thousand inhabitants. By the establishment of railway communication, the bridging of the river, the founding of iron, flouring, brick, and other industries, the increased production of the tributary agricultural region, and the selection of the town as a county seat, the community receives important economic impulses, and gains rapidly in population and resources. A city charter is obtained from the legislature, and a municipal government succeeds the town committee. Artificial arrangements conform to the changes in population and social organization. Streets are graded, sidewalks are laid, a volunteer fire department, with suitable apparatus, is formed, the beginnings of a police department are made. The building materials brought by the railway, and the excellent brick of local manufacture, make possible the erection of substantial business blocks, hotels, a half dozen churches, several schoolhouses, many stores, and a large number of private dwellings. The demand for instruments

of credit, for loans, for safety of deposit, results in the creation of banks.

The population is increased by large numbers of artisans, who settle near the factories where they work, of professional people and of persons of resources, manufacturers, contractors, and others, who buy or build houses on a broad avenue, which runs along a ridge of rising ground, a quarter already settled by the well to do among the earlier comers.

Increase in
population

Across the river, spanned by a bridge, a suburb is started, and quickly gathers population about one or two industries. Other villages are formed in the outskirts of the town itself, each with a general store very much like that originally set up near the old ferry. The characteristics and development of this more highly organized society will be described and traced in the chapter which follows.

Suburbs

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

The study of a village should include more or less detailed examination of facts suggested by the following topics:—

1. *Natural conditions*: (a) as they explain the location of the village; (b) natural resources of the region tributary to the village; (c) climate.

2. *Relation to the soil*: (a) the original survey; (b) influence of natural conditions on division of territory; (c) distribution of land among the village families.

3. *Artificial arrangements*: (a) character of buildings; (b) prevailing types of architecture; (c) nature of streets and sidewalks; (d) street lighting; (e) means of obtaining water; (f) drainage.

4. *Population*: (a) general classification of families and individuals; (b) nationalities; (c) dominant element.

5. *Family life*: (a) general characteristics; (b) dietary; (c) meal hours; (d) pictures; (e) family library; (f) domestic production; (g) status of servants.

6. *Social grouping of population*: (a) church societies; (b) associations according to nationality; (c) political parties; (d) secret

societies; (e) young people's associations; (f) women's clubs; (g) literary societies; (h) families related by birth or intermarriage.

7. *Social protective institutions*: (a) constable or police; (b) volunteer fire-department; (c) village board of health; (d) doctors.

8. *Social economic institutions*: (a) local productive industries; (b) local transforming industries; (c) local means of exchange, stores; (d) bank.

9. *Institutions of sociability*: (a) social parties, suppers, etc.; (b) school exhibitions; (c) debating societies; (d) tavern and store gatherings; (e) the lodge; (f) sports.

10. *Educational institutions*: (a) public schools; (b) private schools; (c) parochial schools; (d) lyceum lectures; (e) public library; (f) sermons.

11. *Regulative institutions*: (a) local government; (b) churches; (c) family discipline; (d) public opinion.

12. *Psychical conditions*: (a) influences tending toward union of the whole group; (b) influences tending toward division into parties; (c) tendencies toward active antagonism between classes; (d) social relations between the churches.

13. *Local communication*: (a) newspapers; (b) gossip; (c) bulletins in post office; (d) legal notices; (e) topics of conversation.

14. *Contact with society as a whole*: (a) means of transportation; (b) telegraphic communication; (c) postal service; (d) economic relations; (e) psychical contact through books and papers.

15. *Local authorities*: (a) commercial; (b) educational; (c) religious; (d) in fashions and etiquette; (e) relation of these local authorities to the authorities of society at large; (f) the introduction of general psychical influences into the village through local authorities.

16. *Abnormal conditions*: as suggested by Bk. IV., Chaps. III. and IV.

MAP

A map of the village should be drawn to show: (a) streets and divisions of land; (b) buildings. Different colors should be used to indicate the location of (a) rich families; (b) wage earners' families; (c) very poor and dependent families. In the same way the map should show: (a) churches; (b) schools; (c) library; (d) jail; (e) fire-engine house; (f) taverns and saloons; (g) post office; (h) railway station; (i) principal stores; (j) factories.

CHAPTER IV

TOWN AND CITY

§ 63. The plan, so far pursued, of describing a given stage of social organization, such as the isolated family, the rural community, the village, must be somewhat modified from this point on. As the society grows increasingly complex, the difficulty of gaining an adequate conspectus becomes well-nigh insuperable. Detailed, concrete description must give way more and more to general statement. We shall, therefore, treat the town and city period of some twenty years as a whole, tracing the development of the more important social arrangements and activities during that time and attempting to sketch in outline the main features of the urban life.

Plan of description
somewhat
modified

The establishment of railway communication, a few years after the village period described in the last chapter, gives a most important impetus to the growth of the community in population, wealth, and intelligence. At last the town has close connection with the greater life of the whole nation. Products are easily exchanged with great centers of trade. News, by post and telegraph, is quickly transmitted. Citizens may readily travel and gain new ideas and impulses. Visitors, merchants, and investors from abroad find easy access to this heretofore comparatively isolated society. The development, so greatly stimulated by the first railway and by several others, which are built later in several directions,

Influence of
the railway

manifests itself in many modifications of the territory and of the activities of the population.

Changes in
aspect of the
town

Streets

We may note, first, the physical changes that have taken place. The increase of population has required the erection of public buildings, stores, and dwellings until the original area of the city is largely occupied. The streets now in constant use represent accurately the lines of the first survey. Most of them pass through the stage of being simply graded, to the condition of thoroughfares paved with wooden blocks, vitrified brick, stone, or asphalt. The sidewalks, too, advance from trails of trodden clay to wooden footways, and in many cases to broad walks of flagstone or concrete.

Increased
value of land,
and its conse-
quences

"Additions"

Method of
growth

There comes a time in the growth of the town when all the desirable lots are either occupied or held at prices which many of the citizens can afford neither to pay nor to refuse. So they go beyond the original limits and buy land from the owners of adjoining farms. The latter shrewdly divide their fields into building lots, conforming with the survey of the town itself. Little by little these pieces of land are bought and built upon until a community has been established on the edge of the municipality. Gradually the city limits are extended to include one by one these outer growths, which are known at first as "Brown's Addition," "Penfield's Addition," etc., so named after the original owners of the farm lands. While most of the additions immediately adjoining the town site have made their lines conform with those of the city streets, a few are laid out in directions parallel with the government survey, so that the streets of the suburb join the thoroughfares of the city at surprising angles. The territorial growth of the society is thus effected by the formation of somewhat detached villages, which, at a certain stage of development, are incorporated with the main body. (See Map facing p. 143.)

In this way the community north of the river, whose growth

has been rapid since the stream was spanned by a fine iron bridge, is finally made a part of the city. On the other hand, a company of independent people a mile to the south organize a town for which they secure a charter under the name of "South——." For several years they resist consolidation until the anomalies of the situation, the conflicts of jurisdiction, and the absence of effective coöperation bring about an agitation, which results in the unification of the whole region under the chief municipal government.

Suburbs
annexed

An important improvement in the town and the additions consists in planting rows of young trees along the residence avenues and streets. As the years pass, a forest grows where once stretched a treeless prairie.

Trees

The public parks, one along the river bank, and another near the center of the town, which were provided for in the original survey, are gradually improved and enjoyed in common by many of the citizens, especially by those who have little land of their own.

Parks

A cemetery association, formed late in the village period, secures a large tract of high ground to the east of the town site. The bodies are exhumed from the temporary burial place in the village street, and transferred to this specially chosen spot. As the town grows into a city, parts of the general cemetery are set aside for the exclusive use of Catholics, Jews, and one or two other religious groups.

A cemetery
designated

In architecture, rapid progress is made. With abundance of building materials from a distance, excellent stone in the immediate vicinity, and the best quality of brick manufactured in the suburbs, specially trained architects execute the commissions of men who command increasing resources. Forms which have developed through the centuries are introduced into the churches, school buildings, business structures, and dwellings of this prairie city. The combinations are not uniformly successful; many of the

Architectural
advance
keeps pace
with prosper-
ity

buildings are ill conceived, bizarre, pretentious, but there is an aiming at better and more beautiful things which comes ever nearer to the mark. Yet in much of the cheaper building, in the smaller houses of wage workers, for example, there is, for a time, utter absence of taste and æsthetic feeling. As the years pass, however, new schools of architecture make themselves felt, and not only do novel and artistic materials rise in simpler and more graceful forms along broad avenues, but pleasing designs and harmonious colors appear in humble cottages on obscure streets and suburban lanes.

Local grouping
of population
according to
wealth be-
comes obvious

The grouping just hinted at is a conspicuous feature of urban arrangements. Ever since the village grew into the town, this separation has been steadily going on. At first, a few families build upon the highest and most attractive avenues. The land rises in value as others seek to join the colony, until the lots are worth so much that men of modest means cannot afford to buy and many original owners with limited resources feel compelled to sell. Thus by the action of economic laws, the property gradually falls into the hands of those who are able to build handsome, or at least substantial, houses, while others, financially weaker, gravitate toward less desirable quarters, which, however, are often nearer the factories in which many of them work. This tendency is strong and steadily effective, becoming more and more apparent every year in the outward aspect of the city.

Water supply

§ 64. The water supply, at first secured by hauling water from the river, is for a time obtained from private wells which, originally almost dry, increase their depth of water as the soil of the surrounding prairie is loosened by the plow. For purposes of protection large cisterns are dug at points along the chief thoroughfares, and water from the river is pumped into them by the hand engine of the

volunteer department. As the population increases and the town area is extended, the question of water supply becomes of vital importance. It is clear that wells will soon prove inadequate. The city council is urged by one party to issue bonds and construct the necessary plant. Others strenuously oppose such an extension of municipal functions, and carry the day when the matter is submitted to popular vote. Then a private company, organized by well-to-do citizens, makes a proposition which is accepted, and in two years powerful pumps on the river bank are forcing water through main pipes and lateral branches into almost every part of the city.

Water com-
pany organized

At the same time, the municipality has begun the construction of a system of sewers, which, year by year, is extended throughout the rapidly widening city territory. Even before the waterworks are established, another private company is manufacturing illuminating gas, supplying it to private citizens, and to the corporation for lighting the streets. In due time an electric plant, built by private capital, distributes power and light throughout the municipal area. All these technical devices, developed elsewhere through years of experiment and invention, are here applied at once in their perfected form.

Other improve-
ments

The railway is the chief means of solving the fuel problem. Although thin veins of poor coal are found beneath the soil at many points within five miles of the town, most of the fuel must be transported from a distance. The railway brings anthracite coal from far-away Pennsylvania, bituminous coal from mines nearer home, and later, a mixed quality from Colorado. Thus the new society extends the area of its supporting territory over a large part of the whole country.

The fuel prob-
lem solved

The police force has grown from the single constable of early days to a thoroughly organized body of men, duly sub-

The police
force

ordinated to sergeants, captains, inspectors, and a responsible chief. A headquarters and precinct stations, a jail, a system of telephonic communication and patrol wagons are among the technical means by which this social regulative agency is coördinated and rendered efficient.

The fire
department
organized

The volunteer fire companies gradually merge into a partly paid and partly volunteer fire department. Improved apparatus is purchased. As the town grows in size, and distances increase, horses are added to the service, at first doing dray duty during the day and hastening to the engine-house in case of alarm, but later devoted wholly to the one work. At length the volunteer element disappears altogether. Paid firemen stationed at different points in the city, with adequate apparatus and horses, are in telegraphic communication with fire-alarm boxes at almost every corner, and hold themselves in readiness at all times to respond instantly to the summons of the citizens.

All these activities — water supply, lighting, preservation of order, and protection against fire — are gradually surrendered, as social organization becomes more complex, to specially constituted agencies. (See Chart following p. 250.)

The general
store is spe-
cialized

§ 65. Commercial arrangements in the town show a similar tendency to specialization. The general store becomes a grocery, yielding parts of its original activity to a dry-goods store, to a druggist shop and bookstore combined, to a hardware store, and to other warerooms devoted to the sale of single classes of goods. As the town grows into a city, commanding the markets of the world, this specialization increases, until the subdivision becomes minute. Then occurs an interesting return to the original type of general store, in the form of several large establishments, which fill the newspapers with flaring advertisements and announce

and then re-
combined into
a great
emporium

the sale of every conceivable article known to the retail trade. These houses force many small merchants out of business, or drive them from the heart of the city into more remote, subordinate, trading centers, which are to be found scattered through the residence quarters and in the suburbs. These local markets and shops are less specialized, approaching more nearly to the village type, supplying the staple articles constantly demanded by domestic economy, but not attempting to compete with the large stores in wares greatly affected by fashion or of considerable value.

Subordinate
commercial
centers

Wholesale houses are established to collect the surplus products of the region, to ship them to different parts of the country where they are needed, and to distribute among the merchants of the territory tributary to the city those supplies of products and finished goods which are sent from other agricultural and manufacturing centers. Grain elevators, coal yards, lumber yards, wholesale dry goods and hardware houses represent this department of commerce.

The wholesale
trade

Industrial activity expands rapidly with the coming of the railway. The primitive sawmill and gristmill give way to larger and better equipped plants. An iron foundry, brick kilns, and minor factories of different kinds are one by one established. After a few years the railway, receiving a large tract of land from the city, erects extensive shops for the building and repairing of cars and engines.

Expansion of
industry

All these enterprises require first, the services of large numbers of carpenters, masons, iron workers, painters, plumbers, and other artisans, and then give employment to hundreds, and finally to thousands, of operatives.

The transactions involved in the increase of trade and manufacture early give rise to a banking system. The merchant who wishes to pay for goods purchased in the market town gladly buys from a farmer the draft which the latter receives for products sold in the same center. But, as the

Increased com-
plexity of com-
merce gives
rise to banks

community enlarges, and commerce grows more complex, these private accommodations become wholly inadequate. A special agency in the form of a bank is established, by which the demand for local and foreign exchanges is satisfied, free capital is loaned, and deposits of money are received. Other institutions of the same kind are, one by one, organized, and finally, for convenience and mutual protection, a clearing-house association is formed.

Specialization
in the profes-
sions

Professional life, as time passes, undergoes perceptible change. Higher social organization demands peculiar fitness for special work. Many lawyers and doctors gradually come to confine their attention to restricted fields, and young men entering the professions prepare themselves for definite departments. Thus we find consulting lawyers, jury lawyers, criminal lawyers, patent lawyers, while the medical practice, still maintained by many general or family physicians, is rapidly being distributed among a large number of specialists. The development of the public school system results in a somewhat similar specialization among the teachers, a condition even more conspicuously true of the professors in the college established in the suburbs.

Means of
communi-
cation

Local press

§ 66. Means of communication in the town increase in number and efficiency. Gossip from the general store and social gatherings is partly surrendered to a weekly newspaper, which is started early in the town's history. This publication gives to individual subscribers much of the news, local and national, which was once disseminated by word of mouth. The other weekly papers and the dailies which one after the other are founded as the years pass, continue to do this work more and more thoroughly, as well as render service of much greater importance. As we shall see later in the chapter, the multiplication of institutions and commercial arrangements which afford social contact greatly facilitates

the communication of ideas. The post office, soon transferred to a separate building, is used somewhat in earlier days for local letters, but with the inauguration of the free delivery system, each citizen is put in easy communication with every other. Next, a telephone exchange is established, which renders to those who can afford to pay the rental a still better service.

Free postal
delivery

Telephone
system

At the same time with these devices for overcoming distances, means of local transportation grow up. The villagers have comparatively short distances to walk, and most of them own at least one horse, but, as the town streets grow longer, and the number of citizens without private conveyances increases, the question of public transportation is raised.

Local trans-
portation

Omnibuses are run from hotels and private houses to the railway station, and between trains they make occasional trips along certain avenues to points in the outskirts. For some years, a service of this sort, slightly improved from time to time, is maintained, but in the absence of pavements the omnibuses are slow and uncomfortable. At last, during a period of apparent prosperity and active speculation known as a "boom," a private company secures the right to lay tracks in the principal streets, and puts a few horse cars in service. Not only are these lines made to meet an existing demand, but they are extended in various directions by the persuasion and with the aid of suburban land owners, whose lots, thus made easy of access, rise rapidly in value. The importance of such lines once recognized, they are multiplied to excess. More land is brought within reach than is really needed. After a few months or years of brisk speculation, the fittest of the forced suburban growths survive, and the rest with their connecting railways are abandoned. By the introduction of electricity, horses are displaced, and a general system of trolley cars is put in operation. The different lines center in the heart of the town, and by a

Omnibuses

Horse cars

Electric cars

device of transfers, citizens may ride for a single fare from almost any part of the municipality to any local destination.

Livery and cab
service

Livery stables, at first connected with the town taverns, increase in number, and offer the use of horses and vehicles to the public at a more or less fixed tariff. This service is supplemented by licensed cabs and carriages to be found in charge of their owners or drivers standing at railway stations and other convenient points.

General
economic
distribution

§ 67. It has been implied that differences in the wealth of citizens exist. Slight inequalities at the outset are exaggerated as the village grows into the town, and the town develops into the city. Many of the original or early settlers realize large sums from the sale of land which has increased marvelously in value. These and others, among them many later arrivals, have invested capital in commercial or industrial enterprises, which pay generous dividends. Managers, agents, clerks, and others connected with the many business concerns of the city are paid salaries varying in amount with the importance of the services rendered. Several able lawyers receive large incomes from men and corporations who are willing to reward them liberally for protecting important interests. Physicians, teachers, ministers, and editors share in some measure the increased prosperity of the community. A large class of the population is composed of wage workers in the various local industries. Their earnings enable them to maintain a plain standard of living, and many of them acquire, little by little, property in small lots and modest houses.

Local
resources are
developed,

Although local resources, agricultural and mineral—stone, brick-clay, and even an inferior quality of coal being found in large quantities—are rapidly developed, it is still difficult to determine how far the city is supported by the region properly tributary to it. Its economic activities are so incor-

porated, by a multiplicity of commercial relations, with the life of the whole nation, that discrimination is almost impossible. The city bonds, and the securities of the street-railway, gas, water, and electric light companies are largely owned by people in many parts of the country. Wealth in exchange for land or secured by mortgages on private property pours in from without, while, on the other hand, many citizens have sent money abroad for investment.

but large amounts of wealth are still required from abroad

The dependence of the society upon the country at large, or more indirectly upon the whole civilized world, is conspicuous when great strikes at distant mines or factories quickly affect the supply and prices of commodities, or when a financial panic originating, perhaps, across the sea, is swiftly communicated by the commercial system and deeply affects local interests.

Economic dependence on society at large

The increase in population, which manifests itself in the outward changes that have been sketched in outline, has been due in part to births within the society, but chiefly to immigration. The rapid development of the town has attracted professional men, merchants, investors small and great, and many rather vaguely ambitious young men, all eager to make successful places for themselves in the new society. These citizens are chiefly native Americans from the Eastern and Northern States. With the building of railways and the growth of industries, large numbers of wage workers, many of them foreigners, have come to make their homes in the city. There are Germans, Scandinavians, Irish, and later, Italians and Poles.

Increase in population

Character of the immigrants

By natural laws of grouping, these different races form colonies where they live as neighbors. These quarters are by no means exclusively national, but in each a single people so predominates as to give a general character to the neighborhood. One part of the town, a really valuable "addition" as regards location, is early opened by its equality-loving

National colonies

Negro settle-
ment

owner to negro purchasers. The white population shuns the place, which never brings the price that other conditions would easily have given to it. Even the negro citizens are not wholly loyal to the first settlement, but form in another part of the city a colony which is popularly known as "New Tennessee."

Social group-
ing and
stratification
clearly dis-
cernible

We observe, therefore, that the population, made up originally of people not very dissimilar in property and intelligence, becomes gradually divided into broadly distinguishable divisions characterized by marked differences in economic and mental conditions. These distinctions are clearly observable in the family life of the different groups, although there are certain characteristics of urban as distinguished from rural social organization, which are well-nigh general.

Increasing
complexity
and compact-
ness of life
involves a
high degree
of inter-
dependence

§ 68. As village grows into town, the tendency of domestic production to yield to social supply more and more prevails. From the thickly settled area which is extended every year, the family cow and fowls are exiled, while the garden in the back yard is turned into a lawn, or, if it is on a street, is sold for a building lot. The milkman and the market now supply milk, eggs, chickens, and vegetables. In very many cases the baker makes the family rolls and bread, the laundryman does the family washing, the tailor and dressmaker supply the family raiment, the trained nurse tends parents and children in serious illness, and often the caterer serves the supper for the entertainment which the family offers to its friends. Water and gas or electricity, as we have seen, are brought by pipes or wires into the domicile where the postman delivers letters, and the newsboy leaves the morning paper. The policeman and the fireman extend the protection of society over the household. The family has quite lost its independence, and counts upon external aid from every side. This reliance upon society finds its

most complete expression in apartment houses, where family domiciles are brought under one roof, with a common entrance and janitor, and heated with steam from common boilers; and again, in family hotels, in which almost every domestic activity is surrendered, and the maximum of leisure is secured.

What is true of the family is even more conspicuous in the case of individuals who are almost wholly dependent upon families or upon hotels, restaurants, laundries, tailors, and other purely social agencies. It is interesting to note that, in proportion as families are remote from the center of the city, the village type of domestic economy tends, at least, to reappear.

Reappearance
of the village
type of life in
suburbs

While this form of highly interdependent life is, in a measure, general throughout the city, it varies in degree from that of the wealthy family whose members turn over to servants and others almost all domestic employments, to that of the laborer's family in which unaided personal service is the rule. The differences in modes of life result in differences of leisure, which are of the utmost social significance.

We find, then, the population divided into rather vaguely defined, yet broadly discernible, groups. First, there are those who control large resources invested in land, houses, and various industrial and commercial enterprises, which they superintend personally or conduct through agents. Next there is the large class of professional men, tradesmen, salaried clerks, and the like, while last comes the greatest number, the daily wage earners, artisans, operatives, domestic servants, and unskilled laborers. Not only do these property divisions exist, but there are causes at work which maintain social divisions roughly corresponding with them. The wage workers are for the most part, directly or indirectly, the employees of the wealthy. Antagonisms

General divi-
sions of the
population
according to
property

inevitably arise. Failure on the part of each to understand the other aggravates the difficulty, and, in general, class is arrayed against class, although individuals in both may not share the feeling. The second class mentioned does not, as a rule, mingle socially with the wage workers, yet no definite antipathy separates them. The distinction between the first and second class is extremely difficult to trace and, in the case of very many individuals, does not exist. Moreover, it should be carefully noted that these divisions are by no means fixed, and that individuals and families, with the rapid development of the region, pass readily from one economic status to another.

Social group-
ing as effected
by many
influences

Besides this general division according to property, there are almost countless groupings which take the form of political parties — lawyers', doctors', and teachers' associations, schools, churches, and other religious societies, literary, musical, artistic, and dramatic associations, clubs, "society sets," national organizations, such as Turn Vereins and Clann-Gaels, Odd Fellows, Masons, and other secret orders, labor unions, and so forth.

The various
social groups
are not dis-
tinct, but over-
lap and inter-
weave

Many of these groupings are confined to one or two of the general economic divisions; others include members of all classes. Thus, the fashionable club and the leading social set is composed chiefly of the wealthy, with a considerable number from the second class. Wage earners are, however, necessarily excluded. On the other hand, political parties, many of the churches and secret societies include in their membership representatives of all classes. The labor unions are, in the nature of things, closed to the employing class, and the national societies are limited in each case to Germans, Irish, Italians, or Poles. We see, then, that the city population is subdivided into a great variety of groups which are not distinct, but by virtue of having many members in common, are woven together in a bewildering way. It is

true, nevertheless, that most of these groupings are united compactly within one or the other property division, and that these larger class combinations are held together far less firmly by general social bonds which include members of all classes.

§ 69. Specifically educational agencies in the community develop from the common school in the little "shake" cabin, through progressive stages, until they assume the character of a graded system with primary, grammar, and high school departments. These public institutions are supplemented gradually by private schools, kindergartens, Catholic parochial schools, and a college, the latter founded by a wealthy eastern patron under the auspices of the Congregational churches of the state.

The
educational
system

The change from rural to city life, as we have seen, virtually puts an end to the technical training which was afforded by the earlier type of domestic economy. To supply this lack, Manual Training and Sloyd are introduced into the public school system. Business colleges are established to train young men and young women for the increasingly complex duties of commercial life.

Manual
training

A literary society, even in the village period, begins the accumulation of a library which, increasing in volumes as the years pass, is at last turned over to the municipality. A suitable building is erected, and the library, to which additions are constantly made, is opened free of charge to the public.

A public
library
founded

Books and papers from abroad come in steadily growing numbers, so that with products of the local press almost every household receives regularly at least one daily or other periodical, while many families subscribe for several papers and magazines and buy large numbers of books.

Books and
periodicals

Public lyceum lectures, university extension courses, the work of many literary clubs, and much of the preaching of

Lectures, ser-
mons, con-
certs, etc.

the city pastors, must be included in an enumeration of means for mental development which are offered to citizens. Music and art are not neglected. The primitive singing school has disappeared, but a musical conservatory and private teachers have taken its place. Good music also assumes an important part in the services of many of the churches. Concerts, recitals, and musicals are forms of frequent public and private entertainment.

Art
gallery
established

Much dubious decoration of one kind or another is done in the name of art during the years of development, but gradually well-trained and really appreciative teachers come to give instruction, an art league is formed, an annual exhibition is instituted, and the beginnings of a permanent collection are made in a gallery provided in the library building. Many good pictures are bought for private houses, and a better class of engravings and etchings finds its way through the shops into the homes of the citizens generally. The improved æsthetic standards of architecture have already been mentioned.

Theaters sup-
plant school
tableaux

The old schoolhouse exhibitions, the tableaux, and recitations are continued with gradual modifications. At length an amateur dramatic association is formed, which meets for a time the popular demand for theatrical representations. With the building first, of an opera house, and later, of two or three other theaters, professional actors are introduced to the city, and amateurs confine their activity to occasional private entertainments in aid of charitable institutions. Among the Germans, and other citizens of foreign birth, plays given in the native tongue by amateurs are very popular.

The evolution
of "society
events"

§ 70. Institutions of sociability, many of which have already been mentioned, develop gradually from the village store, tavern, and household gatherings. Little by little men cease to congregate in stores, when saloons, clubs,

lodges, labor unions, and various other societies offer greater attractions. The women, as lighter household duties give them more leisure, spend it in formal visits, in church society meetings, in expeditions of charity, in literary clubs, at afternoon teas and luncheon parties. Both men and women mingle more freely and frequently at regular social gatherings, — teas, suppers, card parties, dinners, receptions, musicals, cotillions, and balls — forms of social intercourse which are imported like architectural types and fashions in clothes. These social gatherings vary with wealth and intelligence from the height of conventionality to rudimentary forms, which closely approach village life. There are, however, many wide variations from any general standard. Several families of wealth maintain an extremely simple mode of life, while many others in comparatively straitened circumstances make every effort to meet the exacting requirements of fashion.

In the village every citizen knows every other. As the community grows, such general acquaintance becomes more and more difficult until finally it is impossible. In the city, even neighbors may be strangers. Intellectual sympathies and other ties are stronger than mere proximity, when life is more intense and varied. The fact that the population is separated into groups which know little or nothing of each other is a conspicuous characteristic of the urban life. The city in one respect is a combination of villages, each with its own "society." The territorial and social separation of rich and poor is especially significant in connection with this fact. Isolation of classes each from the other is, in itself, easily explained and, at the same time, largely accounts for the mutual misconceptions which result in further estrangement, and often in suspicion and hatred on one side and distrust and intolerance on the other.

The number of churches is rapidly increased until all

Increasing size of the city involves less sympathetic coherence of the whole society

Separation of rich and poor

Churches exhibit more tolerance and sympathy for each other

leading denominations are represented. Social groups are still perceptibly influenced by ecclesiastical division, but they become less and less clannish. Common interests of many kinds, intellectual, æsthetic, reformatory, and recreative, unite people of different sects. As life grows richer and more intense, factional strife within churches and denominational rivalries and antagonisms without tend to disappear. Ministers, especially younger men of broader training, are drawn into friendly associations and coöperative social effort. Yet it is natural that acquaintances and friendships arising from church affiliations should result in secular social divisions. It is the exclusive and intolerant spirit rather than the social grouping itself that tends to disappear.

There is one exception to this fraternity of feeling in the case of the Roman Catholic churches and clergy. The historical antagonism between Protestant and Catholic still manifests itself in mutual distrust, which on one side is greatly increased by the establishment of parochial schools. This separation does not, however, prevent the existence of pleasant relations between individuals of both parties.

Public opinion; its wide variations

§ 71. Conduct in city, as in village, is regulated by public opinion more or less general as expressed in family discipline, commercial usages, social conventions, and formal laws. Public opinion varies with every group. The Germans have an ideal of Sunday observance and liquor selling wholly different from that of the orthodox church members, many of whom conscientiously condemn certain forms of amusement which others deem perfectly proper. The more intelligent laboring men and many of the other citizens urge that the city should own the gas, water, and electric plants — a policy which most of the capitalist class regard as dangerously socialistic and provocative of corruption.

The manifold conflicting opinions constantly modify each other, and in the case of public policies get enacted into laws which roughly represent the resultants of antagonistic views.

Authorities of different kinds exert a marked influence on the formation of public opinion. Editors through their papers, ministers by their sermons, teachers and professors in school and college, political managers, leaders of fashion, successful manufacturers and bankers, labor leaders, and others, whose positions or reputations give weight to their opinions, become centers about which people group themselves. These persons, through their connection in many ways with the general life of the state and nation, are themselves influenced by other and greater authorities, and introduce to their fellow-citizens ideas which have been gained from many sources. On the other hand, these leaders of public thought are in turn induced to modify their opinions by the approval or dissent expressed by those whom they lead. There result certain standards of individual and social conduct, subject to frequent modification, yet exerting a very definite authority.

Authorities
are recognized

Ideas are introduced through
a great number
of channels

The increasing complexity of life in the growing group finds striking expression in the laws of the community. In the early days there are almost no restrictions. Little by little building laws, sanitary regulations, and a multitude of other statutes narrow the liberty of individuals to do as they choose regardless of the rights of others.

The laws as
evidence of
increasing
social com-
plexity

It is evident that much social action in the city is not understood in all its relations by the average citizen. This is conspicuously true of the administration of the city affairs. The original settlers and early immigrants, who, at first, give so much of their time and energy to the interests of the community, become more and more absorbed in personal enterprises. They gradually withdraw from public affairs

Apathy of the
"best citi-
zens" and the
rise of political
machines

and leave the administration to men less capable and too often less upright. A class of professional politicians slowly emerges. These men are shrewd and generally unscrupulous. They establish political "machines," hierarchies of managers and "bosses," by whom votes are controlled. They form alliances with saloon keepers, with demagogues, who can influence the foreign elements in the population, and with the state and national political parties. While there is the semblance of rivalry between the principal organizations, there are in reality many secret "deals" by which, during spasms of reform, even the defeated managers gain some slight advantage. The motive power of these "machines" is self-interest, usually as opposed to public good. It is generated by "spoils," salaries, contracts, and "jobs" of various kinds.

Reasons why
the machines
succeed

The success of these professional politicians is due largely to the withdrawal of many able and honest citizens both from candidacy for office and from participation in primaries and elections. They are too much devoted to their vocations, families, and social pleasures to waste time in politics, which, moreover, has disreputable associations. Again, large numbers of generally intelligent men continue to own allegiance in municipal elections to the national parties in the successes of which they are deeply interested. With the best elements thus apathetic or divided, the professional politicians run their machines, encountering only an occasional "reform movement," at which they can well afford to laugh.

Reform meas-
ures agitated

At last an outrageous violation of honesty and decency on the part of a local "machine" arouses the whole city. The newspapers print sensational and more or less accurate reports of the frauds, and urge the citizens to bestir themselves. Ministers preach earnestly the pressing necessity for higher ideals of civic duty. Public meetings are addressed by leading citizens of all classes and nationalities. A com-

mittee of one hundred is organized. By such means the people are forced to think, to see things in a new light, to realize the folly of the past and to form higher ideals for the future. The popular feeling which results from this agitation is turned to account in the next election, by which the city administration is at least somewhat purified.

§ 72. While the city exhibits many admirable characteristics, there are present other elements which, if they do not constitute disease of the whole group, yet produce conditions which are manifestly unhealthy. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that the lower passions of men find expression in gambling houses and brothels, which, in turn, react upon the population in countless insidious ways. All attempts wholly to eradicate these institutions end in failure, although from time to time they are raided and the inmates fined and dispersed. The police at length settle upon the policy, contrary to law as it is, of confining the houses of ill fame to a certain quarter, on the ground that such concentration, under strict surveillance, is less dangerous than a wide distribution throughout the city. The systematic levying of tribute from these establishments by the police was one of the scandals which caused the popular revolt described in the preceding section.

Abnormal
elements and
institutions

Vice

With the development of industries and the increase of railways, accidents grow so numerous, almost exclusively among wage workers, that it becomes necessary to establish a hospital, with a staff of physicians and nurses to care for the injured and diseased of the community. Little by little, private wards are added to the hospital service, and many well-to-do citizens are treated there rather than in their own homes. An ambulance, kept constantly in readiness, quickly brings the sick and injured to a place of scientific treatment.

Hospital and
ambulance
service

**Crime and
jails**

Unsocial individuals, thieves, burglars, brawlers, murderers, and others who refuse to be governed by the regulations which must be observed if society is to exist and make progress, are, so far as may be, arrested, tried, and withdrawn from society in jails and prisons, with the hope, too often vain, that a period of isolation will induce better conduct in the future.

**Poverty and
measures of
relief**

Poverty, due to many causes, makes a small proportion of citizens a public burden. A poor commissioner and a county farm are evidences of the failure on the part of certain persons to get into normal economic relations with society. Still others, only partially relying upon external aid or, perhaps, barely independent, live in hovels or rickety tenements, in circumstances of wretchedness and squalor. Charitable societies of many kinds work at haphazard among these folk until the lack of system and the abuses which come to light call attention to the need of coördinated action. A charity organization society is formed and serves as a clearing house for the various benevolent institutions and activities of the city.

**Charity
organization****Summary**

Such are the most striking features of urban social organization, which display : (1) increasing complexity, (2) minute specialization of activities, and (3) a consequently high degree of interdependence of parts. (4) The differences in wealth, intelligence, customs, and ideals betrayed by the population result in groupings, some of which give coherence to the whole society, while others tend to exaggerate antagonisms and separation. (5) The city affords means for easy and rapid movement from place to place, and (6) for prompt communication of ideas ; (7) it is in close and sympathetic relations with the world at large, and in countless ways stimulates activity and raises life to a higher intensity. (8) It contains, however, certain vicious elements, which, by reason of the very complexity, compactness, and interde-

pendence of urban life, subtly penetrate the whole social fabric and so much the more threaten individual and family life.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

The study of a town or city may be general or specific, *i.e.* may seek to gain a conspectus of the society as a whole, or may scrutinize in detail a single district, ward, or quarter.

GENERAL STUDY

1. *Natural conditions.* See page 141.
2. *Artificial arrangements:* (a) streets; (b) buildings; (c) water-supply; (d) gas and electricity; (e) sewerage; (f) transportation, etc.
3. *Population:* (a) total number; (b) nationalities represented; (c) general economic and social stratification.
4. *Distribution of population:* (a) territorial grouping according to wealth; (b) according to nationality.
5. *Grouping of population:* (a) neighborhood; (b) nationality; (c) religion; (d) education; (e) wealth, etc.
6. *Economic institutions:* (a) transforming industries; (b) institutions for exchange; (c) stock and produce exchanges; (d) banks; (e) safety deposit vaults.
7. *Municipal government:* (a) police; (b) fire department; (c) board of health; (d) public works; (e) parks, etc.
8. *Institutions of sociability:* (a) "society sets"; (b) clubs; (c) masonic and other secret orders; (d) labor unions, etc.
9. *Ecclesiastical institutions:* (a) total number of churches; (b) denominations; (c) seating capacity in proportion to population; (d) average membership; (e) average attendance, etc.
10. *Educational institutions:* (a) public schools; (b) private and parochial schools; (c) colleges; (d) professional schools; (e) technical schools; (f) commercial schools; (g) people's institutes; (h) lecture courses; (i) libraries and reading rooms, etc.
11. *Æsthetic institutions:* (a) art schools; (b) musical conservatories; (c) art galleries; (d) concerts, etc.
12. *Entertainments and amusements:* (a) athletic contests; (b) theaters; (c) social events, etc.
13. *Local communication:* (a) the press; (b) advertising, etc.
14. *Authorities:* (a) individuals; (b) groups.

15. *Psychical conditions*: (a) unifying influences; (b) class antagonisms; (c) race antagonisms, etc.

16. *Punitive, reformatory and ameliorative institutions*: (a) jails; (b) penitentiary; (c) almshouse; (d) reform schools; (e) hospitals; (f) asylums; (g) charitable societies; (h) charity organization society; (i) social settlements, etc.

17. *Abnormal conditions*: defects and failures of institutions and activities suggested above, especially faults of municipal government.

18. *Institutions of vice*: (a) saloons; (b) gambling houses; (c) brothels, etc.

MAP

A map of the whole city should be prepared to show in color (a) the chief social institutions, normal and abnormal; (b) the distribution of population according to wealth, etc. Consult the maps published in connection with Charles Booth's *Life and Labor of the People*.

SPECIAL STUDY

An examination of conditions in a single city district, especially in a degraded quarter, should include the following categories:—

1. *Family life*: (a) personnel and nationality; (b) domicile; (c) sanitary conditions; (d) total family income: received through what members; (e) occupations represented; (f) family budget of expenditure; (g) quantity and quality of food; (h) education; (i) pictures; (j) books; (k) ideals; (l) religious affiliations; (m) other social bonds; (n) relations between husband and wife, and parents and children.

2. *Artificial arrangements*: (a) nature of buildings; (b) character and condition of streets; (c) general sanitation, etc.

3. *Social institutions, etc.* See categories under General Study.

MAP

A carefully drawn map of the district should show by colors: (a) the distribution of nationalities; (b) the average weekly wages, e.g. incomes below \$5 per week, between \$5 and \$10, between \$10 and \$15, etc.; (c) location of churches, schools, jails, police stations, saloons, gambling houses, brothels, etc. A series of sociological maps soon to be published under the supervision of Miss Jane Addams, of *Hull House*, in Chicago, will illustrate the method here suggested.

Book III

SOCIAL ANATOMY

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ELEMENTS: LAND AND POPULATION

§ 73. Having in Book I. discussed certain general considerations concerning the study of society, and in Book II. described concretely the gradual formation of a modern city, we now proceed to a systematic examination of social structures as they are presented in contemporary life. To this dissection, or analysis, we apply the term "Social Anatomy" (§ 22).

A restatement of the method of social analysis

Social Anatomy

Again we warn the student against the dangers which lurk in analogies between the social organism and any particular zoölogical type, such as the human body. It should be borne in mind that certain relations of coexistence, interdependence, and growth are exhibited by the associated life of men, and that it is upon these essential relations, not upon fanciful similes, that the organic theory bases its claim (§§ 39, 40).

The organic theory based on relations, not analogy

We are then, with this hypothesis as a guide, to examine the actual facts of social structure, the relation of part to part, and of each part to the whole. We are to test our hypothesis by the phenomena, not to force the phenomena into harmony with a preconceived theory. The word "Anatomy" is here used to describe a method the reverse of that employed by the dissector of animal organisms. He proceeds from the greater to the less, from the complex to the simple; we advance, by what might be paradoxically described as constructive analysis, from the elementary to

Two social
elements, land
and population

the highly organized. We begin, therefore, with the two primary elements which, distinct in thought but inseparable in fact, constitute the essential conditions of the existence of society: (1) *land*, which also broadly includes both natural and artificial wealth, and (2) *population*, man considered as a physical, intellectual, and emotional being.

Land or
natural
environment

§ 74. It seems like stating a platitude to assert that the conformation of the surface, the quality of the soil, the nature of the animal and vegetable life, and the climate of a given region, condition, in large measure, the structure and character of the society which the locality supports. Yet the phenomena with which Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Physical Geography, Botany, and Zoölogy deal are of essential importance to the genuine sociologist, whether he studies society as a whole, or examines some specific group. It is, indeed, impossible to gain a clear insight into the fundamental phenomena of a community without a preliminary knowledge of its natural environment. So well recognized is this relation between natural conditions and social structure, that the intelligent observer can, in a general way, reason from the artificial arrangements of a village or town back to the natural basis of the particular social group. The truly scientific investigator cannot afford to slight, as obvious and unimportant, the phenomena which are presented by different kinds of soil, flora, fauna, and climate in various combinations.

A knowledge
of natural con-
ditions essen-
tial to an
understanding
of social
structure

Illustrations

A hilly town
site

The hilly nature of a town site, like that of Galena, Illinois, where the houses are arranged on terraces one above the other, connected by flights of steps, tends to exert an influence (1) on general social intercourse by making it more difficult, (2) on social stratification by dividing the citizens into geographically determined groups, (3) on the use of horses and carriages, bicycles for pleasure, etc. It should be noted that *tendencies* only are asserted. In many cases, these ten-

dencies may be partially or wholly neutralized by influences of personality, which are considerations of another sort.

The existence of the North and East Rivers has not only determined plans of settlement, but has affected in a marked way, social, economic, and political arrangements within the area of "The Greater New York." A river, by its windings and branching, is chiefly responsible for the division of the city of Chicago into "North Side," "South Side," and "West Side"; natural groupings which have important influence upon social and even political life.

Divisions of
New York and
Chicago

The rich prairie lands of the upper Mississippi Valley determine the agricultural character of the society which cultivates them. The coal measures of Pennsylvania require the erection of huge breakers, about which cluster the houses of miners. The swift rivers of Massachusetts draw to their banks the mills which need power for their water wheels. In similar fashion, the Falls of Niagara have begun to crowd the riverside with a row of factories which will, in the near future, stretch full twenty miles in length. The bays on our coast line have determined the sites of a line of seaport cities from Eastport, Maine, to Galveston, Texas.

Influence of
natural re-
sources, soil,
coal, water
power, etc.

The rigorous climate of the North requires compactly built and well-heated houses with all the industries which their building involves. The excessive heat and soft airs of Mexico demand quite other forms of architecture and far different modes of life. The effect of climate upon the characters of races is an important subject for investigation.

Climate

In a broader view of natural conditions as affecting the life of a people or nation, attention is directed to the political organization of ancient Greece. The country, divided by mountain ranges into small and comparatively isolated regions, almost all of which, however, touched upon the sea, became the home of many disconnected and warring cities or small states. These, having access to the highways of commerce, were economically independent one of the other, and knew no strong and permanent bond of union.

Influence of
geographical
conditions on
ancient
Greece

The effect of the insular character of Great Britain upon the life and development of the English people is to be observed in many of their national peculiarities, and is conspicuous in the maritime supremacy which they still maintain.

and on
England

It is unnecessary to multiply examples. The student is referred to page 124 for still another illustration, and, in general, he is advised to reread the whole of Book II. in the light of this analysis as it proceeds.

Population,
or man, the
social unit

The sociolo-
gist relies
upon the data
of Physiology,
Psychology,
and Anthro-
pology

Contributions
of these
sciences

Illustrations

Railway
employees' and
physiological
laws

§ 75. Just as in the case of the environment of society, certain physical sciences were found essential to an intelligent comprehension of natural conditions, so also, when we attempt an estimate of the human element in society, we must rely upon Human Physiology for fundamental facts of man's physical structure and functions, upon Psychology for a knowledge of the laws which control his modes of thought, feeling, and willing, and upon Anthropology for information concerning his progress, under complex conditions, from savagery to civilization. The man who lacks at least an elementary knowledge of the data which these sciences afford can no more understand social relations, than the man ignorant of mechanical principles can comprehend a complex machine (§§ 23, 24).

Human Physiology furnishes facts about the life of man which determine, in a more or less absolute way, certain forms of social structure and modes of existence. Psychology announces the laws of psychical forces, which, to a far greater degree than any physical requirements, condition the individual and supply him with motives to action. Anthropology offers valuable generalizations based upon a careful study of prehistoric, historic, and contemporary man, physiological and psychological, under varying natural conditions. Failure to comprehend or to heed these laws of man's nature is the conspicuous fault of the majority of those who advocate sweeping social changes.

The physiological necessity for food and rest cannot be civilized out of existence. A railway company, which compels employees to work longer than they are physically able to perform their duties efficiently, ignores fundamental law. The demands of Human Physiology are met in the case of the engineers of fast trains who are required to make comparatively short runs with long intervals in which to recover from excessive nervous strain. The classical experiment by which the Irishman almost succeeded in reducing his horse to a diet of sawdust failed to demonstrate any way of escape from physical necessity.

It is only within a few years that a relation has been pointed out between the unwisely chosen and ill-cooked food of the laboring classes and their tendency toward drink. Many temperance reformers have wisely turned attention to the physiological aspects of food.

Relation of
poor food to
intemperance

Psychology is not to be learned from books only. The street beggar bases his trade upon the law that the emotions preponderate over the intellect. His appeals to sympathy would oftener fail, if reason had time to step in. The politician has mastered the art of applying practically the data of Psychology. The average stump speech, with its flights of oratory, its appeals to partisan prejudice, and its verbal jugglery, is of great sociological interest and importance.

Beggars and
politicians as
psychologists

In spite of stone footways, the greensward of the Yale Campus is traversed in many directions by diagonal foot-worn lines which bear mute testimony to the fact that, other things being equal, man will follow in his wayfaring the line of least resistance. It is interesting to study arrangements in public places, parks, railway stations, museums, etc., to observe how far psychological requirements have been complied with.

The advertising agent who first conceived the idea of inserting an advertisement in a newspaper, *upside down*, was a psychologist of no mean order.

§ 76. Auguste Comte declares man to be naturally incapable of persistent effort, especially in intellectual labor upon which depends his social advancement. "Man," he says, "is most in need of precisely the kind of activity for which he is least fit." In Comte's view, the individual is an inert mass, for which means of artificial stimulus must be provided—a creature by nature unfit for genuine social life, who must, by some device, be made to do duty as a citizen.

Man a being
with positive
desires

Comte's
theory

We venture to pronounce this attempt to point out first principles of human nature, superficial, and therefore unsuccessful. Man is not a collection of disinclinations, but a combination of wants. Those wants express themselves in desires. Social interpretation must begin with an analysis of these desires, and must observe the conditions of their emergence. The wants expressed in these desires, which

Man not a col-
lection of dis-
inclinations

History is the record of social action with reference to conceptions of human wants

manifest themselves in successive stages of personal and social development, are variously apprehended by individuals and social groups. These wants, combined in an almost infinite variety of proportions, constitute the practical ends of life and furnish efficient motives of action. All personal activity is an attempted adjustment to conceptions of these wants. History is, therefore, the record of social action with reference to conceptions of human wants. We conceive of the individual, then, not as characterized by inertia, but as impelled by desires which demand the satisfaction of certain definite wants. It is the province of Descriptive Sociology to effect a classification of these human wants, and to reach an analysis of the forms in which these wants are conceived by those who seek to satisfy them.

Illustrations

When a great inventor spends hour after hour in continuous experiment and investigation, he is not *pushed* forward by the necessity of winning bread, he is *drawn* on by a complex of desires — eagerness to know the secrets of nature; ambition to make some new combination of forces, physical or chemical; determination, perhaps, to add another to his long list of triumphs. So the humblest artisan is not pricked on to his task, but works for the wage which will enable him to gratify, in some measure, his desires, to purchase something for his home, to join a party of his comrades, to buy a suit of clothes which has caught his fancy. See also motives betrayed by the settlers (§ 45).

Personal wants classified

Classification for convenience in method

§ 77. In Sociology, as in every other science, a method is of the utmost importance. By this means only can phenomena be reduced to order and system. The classification here proposed is offered, not as a preordained and absolutely final arrangement, but as adequate, all things considered, for the end which it is designed to serve. In determining the head under which a given desire shall be classified, the student must bear in mind that every form of desire has several aspects. The element which seems to predominate should determine the final decision as to classification. Yet,

in some cases, even this criterion will be far from clear, and a more or less arbitrary ruling will be necessary. Obviously the principle involved does not require absolute precision but only general discrimination. With so much of explanation, let us enumerate the

Arbitrary
classifications
sometimes
necessary

GROUPS OF PERSONAL WANTS

(*a*) Wants immediately connected with the activity of the physical functions.

Six groups of
personal wants
specified

(*b*) Wants immediately connected with the use of material goods.

(*c*) Wants immediately connected with the activity of social instinct.

(*d*) Wants immediately connected with the activity of intellect.

(*e*) Wants immediately connected with the activity of æsthetic judgment.

(*f*) Wants immediately connected with the activity of conscience.

These clauses may be condensed for convenience into six single terms: (*a*) health, (*b*) wealth, (*c*) sociability, (*d*) knowledge, (*e*) beauty, (*f*) righteousness. The wants thus classified are those common, in latent or variously developed forms, to all men and women. In other words, all human wants may be distributed, with perhaps occasional arbitrariness, under the six divisions above indicated. Yet, in effecting this classification, we have not recognized the fact that no two persons have exactly identical conceptions of the way in which the same general kind of a desire will best find satisfaction. It remains, therefore, to restate the categories in another form which will make provision for the widest variations in the contents of the different wants. We may call this second table

Ideals of satis-
factions vary

CONCEPTIONS OF PERSONAL SATISFACTIONS.

(a) Satisfaction of physical functions, from unrestrained animalism to the perfect body, as an instrument of highest life.

(b) Satisfaction of possession, from "material possessions the ultimate good," to "the trusteeship of wealth."

Conceptions
of personal
satisfactions

(c) Satisfaction of social instincts from wolfishness to brotherhood.

(d) Satisfaction of mental activity; from being in servitude to the physical to becoming the ultimate end of effort.

(e) Satisfaction of æsthetic feeling; from delight in the hideous to deification of beauty.

(f) Satisfaction of conscience; from fetichism to theosophy.

This is a qualitative, not a quantitative analysis

It should be noted that this is a qualitative, not a quantitative analysis. The only assertion is that these six kinds of wants and satisfactions do exist; the proportion in which they are present varies with each individual, and only the vaguest generalizations are possible. To determine the proportion in which these wants should emerge, and the nature of the satisfactions they should seek, is the province, not of Descriptive Sociology, which reports what is, but of Statical Sociology, which aims to determine what ought to be (§ 29).

Illustrations

In classifying human wants, the question might arise as to the disposition which shall be made of the desire of which the theater is an expression. Under one aspect, it is a form of sociability; under another, a means of increasing knowledge; from still another standpoint it is conducive to æsthetic cultivation, and again, many would assert that it teaches ethical lessons. It is obviously difficult to make a decision which does not seem arbitrary, but in the great majority of cases, the theater may be classed under sociability as a form of amusement,

Classifications
more or less
arbitrary.

although the presence and often the predominance of knowledge or even of physical relaxation must be recognized.

The variety of concrete forms which the same general desire may take in the cases of different individuals has already been implied under "Conceptions of Personal Satisfaction." Thus (*health*) the dissipated man finds his highest physical pleasure in the taste and exhilarating effects of alcoholic liquor; the athlete, in exercising and developing his muscles; (*wealth*) the miser gloats over his hoard strangely precious in itself; the philanthropist seeks wealth as a means of furthering his benevolent plans; (*sociability*) the gambler and thug frequent the company of their fellow-men to cheat and despoil them; the city missionary associates with the poor and depraved with the hope of making them happier and better; (*knowledge*) the schoolboy goes enthusiastically afield in search of birds' eggs, and butterflies and fossils; the scientist interrogates Nature, eager to extort her deepest secrets; (*beauty*) to the rustic eye, the gaudy chromo is a delight, and to the villager's ear the local band discourses sweetest music; the cultivated connoisseur finds keenest pleasure in some shadowy old Dutch interior, or listens enchanted to a symphony of Beethoven; (*righteousness*) the Chinaman devoutly burns his stick of incense before the Joss; the earnest Christian aspires to live in harmony with an omnipotent and loving Creator and Ruler of the universe. Between these extremes, and beyond them, are infinitely varied conceptions of forms in which human desires can best find fulfillment.

Concrete examples of varying desires for
(a) health
(b) wealth
(c) sociability
(d) knowledge
(e) beauty
(f) righteousness

§ 78. A fact implied in the preceding section must be specifically stated and somewhat elaborated. Just as the general forces of nature in various combinations and reactions give rise to an immense variety of different conditions of soil, climate, flora, and fauna, so not only physiological, but psychological influences combine to produce marked differences in men. These differences, which are to be noted in the element of population, may be classed in general as (1) natural, or those due to physical and psychical causes, and (2) artificial, or those resulting from associated life. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to make a sharp distinction between these two classes, and in the following further analysis of natural causes of differentiation, the student should

Population individualized by nature

Causes of individual differences
(1) natural
(2) artificial

bear in mind the constant and modifying influence of social forces. There are several differentiating causes.

Heredity or
race

(a) Race characteristics are universally recognized, and in every case individual character, however much it may be formed by education, training, and other social influences, is more or less determined by the facts of birth. We need not here discuss theories of heredity. It is sufficient to call attention briefly to this natural differentiating influence.

Temperament

(b) It is not necessary to read *Every Man in his Humour* to learn that men differ widely in their temperaments. The explanation of these phenomena can be furnished largely by the physiologist. The causal relation between states of body and of mind is becoming better and more fully recognized. The significance of this variety of dispositions will be of great importance in our farther study of man in his adaptation to organized social life.

Age

(c) Marked variations in kind and intensity of physical and mental activities may be traced to differences in the ages of men, and must be included in an estimate of the forces which tend to make one man unlike another. The influence of age is chiefly exerted, however, to reinforce the different temperaments in turn.

Sex

(d) While it is obvious that there are physiological grounds for regarding sex as a differentiating cause, the question as to how far this fundamental distinction affects the psychical life and marks off man's appropriate activities from those of woman, is one of the pressing problems of today. Mr. Herbert Spencer justly urges that —

Quotation
from Spencer

"whatever the results, the inquiry whether or not there are generic mental differences between the sexes, should no longer be postponed, because woman's share, not only in the formation, but in the administration, of public opinion is enlarging every day. It becomes scientifically and practically desirable, therefore, to understand the new elements thus composing the social forces."

That general differences now exist between the mental activities of men and women, no one will deny. Whether these differences, now attributed in some measure, at least, to physiological causes, will eventually be traced solely to social influences, education, conventional arrangements, and the like, cannot, in the absence of scientific data, be successfully asserted or disputed. Of this much we may be certain: differences of physical strength, endurance, and nervous energy will always remain, and must therefore be reckoned upon in social analysis.

Impossibility of assigning ultimate causes for mental differences between men and women

The race question is full of interest to the sociologist. Are differences of race so fundamental that it is impossible to combine all of them into organic unity, is the problem which confronts many nations, especially the United States. The Union is to be the laboratory where the combining possibilities of races will be tested. The experiment will decide whether widely different races can be amalgamated in a single civilization. The possibilities are threefold: (1) destruction of the weaker elements in the struggle for existence, (2) the reduction of these elements to a state of servitude, (3) elevation of the now inferior elements to actual equality of hereditary right in the civilization. Many fear the first possibility for the Indians; the second fate is often predicted for the negroes; while the third is anticipated for the Chinese and other Eastern peoples.

Illustrations

The United States a laboratory for testing the combining powers of races

Men's temperaments must be taken into account in making social judgments and effecting social arrangements. An irascible and choleric person cannot or should not long retain a position as ticket seller or hotel clerk. A nervous and intensely sympathetic man will, as a rule, do well to leave the surgeon's profession to others. A melancholy, morbid, and timid individual is hardly likely to succeed as a jury lawyer.

Temperaments and social tasks

How proficient in the knowledge of temperament are the wives and children of crusty men! How skillful do clerks become in selecting propitious opportunities for preferring their requests to eccentric employers!

Youth and age have been the subjects of philosophers' speculations and of poets' songs. The ardent buoyancy of young manhood, the disciplined self-restraint of middle life, the mellowness or peevishness of

old age, are all to be included as social factors, but chiefly in connection with the individual temperaments which pass through different phases as life advances.

Schäffle on the differences of the sexes

In connection with the question of sex differentiation, it may be well to summarize the views of Schäffle, not because they are to be accepted as final or even as in general true, but simply to show the kind of mental differences which this author, among others, attributes to physiological differences. According to Schäffle, then, the psychical differences between the sexes reside principally in the realm of the feelings. Woman understands everything which the masculine intellect comprehends, but she is uninterested in much that is interesting to man, and *vice versa*. For example, it is masculine, rather than feminine, to generalize, to derive conclusions, to pursue scientific labor. Again, masculine interest turns to massive, mechanical work, which reaches vast results by the application of general forces. Once more, it is masculine to be absorbed in organization of government, to coöperate with a multitude of persons whose tendencies and opinions are similar. Women attach their interest to the special and the individual, to the curious and the beautiful isolated phenomenon. It is feminine to desire to occupy with the whole personality a restricted sphere and to work in it with the most intense affection. Woman demands love as a peculiar self-complete individual, while man seeks self-respect, fame, and honor for what he has accomplished as measured by some general standard. Such are the generic differences which Schäffle claims he has discovered between men and women. How far (1) his statements are true of existing society, and how far (2) he has pointed out the true cause of such differences as do appear, the student of Sociology must find means to determine.

Masculine characteristics

Feminine traits

Wealth a social factor

§ 79. While wealth as it is known to economic science is a product of social life and cannot, therefore, be dissociated in thought from society as readily as the land or the individual, it must be included in our list of social factors. By some sociologists, wealth is made equal in importance to land and population. In a fundamental sense, wealth is absolutely essential to social life, and it is easy to conceive how human wants from the very beginning required the individual appropriation of wealth and gave rise to the phe-

Wealth essential to social life

nomenon, property. As the organization of society continued, the idea of property underwent constant refinement, until, in contemporary life, the most advanced of the social sciences is that which deals with the phenomena of wealth in its various forms.

The idea of property underwent refinement with increasing social organization

The preëminence of economic science during the present century, however, has prevented the popular and even the scientific mind from conceiving the relative importance of the several systems which combine to complete human life. The economic relations are a part, not all, of life. While the elimination of wealth from society would be fatal, the destruction of the intellectual or moral system would be equally disastrous (§ 18).

Economic relations a part, not all, of life

On the other hand, as we have already said, it is necessary to insist that the ultimate science of society cannot ignore wealth. Physical goods must satisfy physical needs as the condition of realizing the non-physical satisfactions (§ 34).

Let us suppose that the wealth of a village is suddenly destroyed. Houses, food, everything is swept away. Unless this group can get immediately into communication with the greater whole of society, its existence, and the lives of the individuals which compose it, are forthwith extinguished. The higher desires, the restraints of convention, morality, and law, disappear. The animal nature asserts itself, and in a fierce egoistic struggle for survival, man attacks man with the ferocity of a wild beast. The economic foundation withdrawn, the whole social fabric falls. Again let us imagine that, in a night, all knowledge of language, all power to communicate ideas, all education and training, in a word, the whole psychical system, is eliminated from the same community. Coöperation becomes impossible, social bonds are destroyed; every man loses his relation to the whole; power over nature is lost; death of the society, if not of all its individual members, follows as inevitably as in the first case.

Illustrations

Destruction of economic system fatal to society

Psychical system equally essential

The fundamental service of the economic system is fully recognized by those social reformers who despair of stimulating the higher natures of the poor until their homes, their food, and their whole economic status have been improved.

Summary

The land, exhibiting great varieties of natural environment, which largely determine social structure, is occupied by a population whose activities are conditioned by the general laws of physical and psychical life, and greatly diversified by special influences of race, temperament, age, and sex. The relations between the land and population give rise to wealth and property, which, while essential to social life, must not be regarded as including all social phenomena.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Effects of natural conditions traceable in the community where the writer lives.
2. Peculiar effects of natural conditions observed in various localities.
3. The psychology of newspaper advertising, of show windows, of street peddlers' devices.
4. Contrasts between the psychical influence of country life and city life.
5. A defense of Comte's theory that man is disinclined to persistent mental effort.
6. A defense of the theory that man is moved by positive desires.
7. A classification of ordinary daily activities under the heads health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, righteousness.
8. Inequalities in opportunities to satisfy the sixfold wants, as observed in the town where the writer lives; with attempt to trace the origin of the differences.
9. The manner and extent of the influence of race characteristics as a factor in the politics of the community where the writer lives.
10. Classification according to temperaments of the members of the class (in college) to which the writer belongs.
11. Concrete cases personally discovered by the writer, of fitness and unfitness of temperament to occupation.
12. A qualitative estimate of the effects which can be traced to the direct influence of women upon the political activities of the state in which the writer lives.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIMARY SOCIAL GROUP: THE FAMILY

§ 80. We saw, in the last chapter, that land and population, together with wealth, which results largely from their interrelations, are the materials of which society is composed. Up to this point, we have tried, as far as the complexity of the subject permitted, to scrutinize each of the factors singly in order to determine its natural properties. In doing this, however, we did not have in mind any factitious isolation of these social elements. We examined them as they exist in society, but directed special attention to their individual characteristics rather than to their social aspects.

Social elements heretofore regarded singly

It now becomes our task to study the structures into which these factors are arranged in society. The special value of this part of the analysis will appear when we reach its applications in judgments of disordered conditions of society. In this procedure, we are to advance, in accordance with the method already announced, from the simple to the complex. The student should bear in mind that we are not studying social evolution through any long period of time, but we are attempting an analysis of contemporary society, as it is found in the more advanced civilization of Europe and America. It is most important for our present purpose that this distinction be clearly recognized throughout the discussion. Any attempt to explain the present in its relation to the remote past is at variance with the method we

are next to be studied in combination

The aim is to describe existing conditions

propose. Our object is to describe what is, not to discover how it came to be.

Having our task thus clearly understood, let us first inquire what is the simplest combination of land and population which is to be found in society?

The primary social group: the family

§ 81. The family is the simplest permanent group which is discoverable in society. It is for this reason, and not because it is historically the original social structure, that we call the family the primary combination, or, to borrow a term from physical science, the molecule of society.

Nature of family bonds

In the family we find certain psychical bonds of union between individuals, and certain relations between these individuals and the land and wealth. These bonds are formed by the satisfaction of certain desires, which we have found to be characteristic of human nature, and the relations with the land and wealth are required by certain other wants, which are equally a part of man's life. A man and a woman together form the personal nucleus of this structure, to which are added children, and other relatives in varying degrees of consanguinity, as well as in many cases, one or more domestic servants. While the personal element of the family may be made to include a very wide circle of more or less related individuals, it is usual to describe by the term that group which, with some degree of permanence, occupies the same abode, and practices a single domestic economy.

Biological aspect of the family

The family defined

Relation of the family to wealth

Not only do we discover in the family these related personalities, but we find also various forms of wealth which have been appropriated by the family and made essential parts of its organization. Very much as a plant, taking materials from soil and air, builds them into its own organism, does the family possess itself of material goods, and give them place in its structure. Having thus sketched in outline the general arrangement of social factors in the family, let us

examine in detail the relations, personal and material, which we discover.

§ 82. The real bond which permanently unites a man and a woman must be distinguished from the mere outward ceremony by which the union is given a conventional sanction or legal existence. The actual tie is formed by satisfactions which range from simple animalism to high types of psychical sympathy and altruistic devotion. The bond never consists wholly of one element of desire. It is a complex of many, but its general nature is determined by that factor which predominates and thus gives character to the whole. Again, we must remember that there are two personalities here involved, and that the uniting influence has, therefore, two subjective aspects. On the one side, certain desires may be in the ascendancy, on the other quite different pre-eminent wants may seek satisfaction. We may remark, in general, that the bond of union is strong in proportion as these two sets of desires coincide with each other, and approximate to the highest ideal.

Husband and wife;
monogamy

The main
family bond

The relation of husband to wife in old countries, and even in new, has in it a certain element of authority, more or less recognized by law and custom, which must be regarded as of some significance in a study of family structure. The average husband is to be thought of as in a real sense the head of the family. The question as to how these two personalities react upon each other and produce modifications in both belongs properly to Social Psychology, and need not be discussed at this point.

The husband
the head of the
family

Attention should be called to one influence which decidedly affects the bond between husband and wife, *i.e.* parenthood. The physical necessity of caring for children, as well as the exigencies of propagation, may be designated as a peculiar cohesive force of the family group.

Significance of
parenthood

Public opinion
tends to pre-
serve family
structure

Another influence which tends to preserve the stability of the marriage relation is the external coercion of conventionality and public opinion. When other ties lose their power, this pressure from without often serves to perpetuate at least the appearance of union.

Monogamy
apparently in
harmony with
natural econo-
mies

In discussing that form of family structure which prevails in modern society of the highest types, namely monogamy, we are departing slightly from our method, which demands simply a report of what exists in society. In stating that the theoretically permanent union of one man and one woman in the marriage relation is to be discovered universally in the field of examination which we have indicated, we take occasion to add certain results of modern statistics which bear directly upon this subject. Records of many million births in many civilized European countries show that, on the average, the number of male children born is to the number of females as 106 to 100. In the maturer years, *i.e.* from seventeen to forty-five, the average in the whole of Europe is 100 males to 103 females. Above the age of fifty, the number of women begins greatly to exceed that of men. These figures seem to point to monogamy as in essential harmony with the economies of nature. A full consideration of this question would be properly included in Social Statics.

Illustrations

The student's knowledge of life in his own and other families will furnish many illustrations of the great variety of psychical bonds which unite husbands and wives.

Relations of
husband and
wife of univer-
sal interest

This subject has been treated in countless aspects by many novelists, of whom George Eliot is perhaps the chief.

"Are they or are they not happy together?" is the absorbing topic of the gossips. The psychical affinities which draw men and women together defy complete analysis even by the subjects themselves, and the objective observer can draw only general conclusions. It is in forming judgments about these relations that the variations due to heredity, temperament, and age, which were mentioned in the last chapter, are of value.

Thus we find an early passion maturing into a permanent affection, or giving way to apathy and a merely conventional union. Again, a relation which, at first, held firmly both husband and wife, may relax its grasp upon one while it continues to control the other. Sometimes a marriage of convenience may develop into a genuine union of mutual esteem and love.

Many elements of variation enter the relation

In many cases a husband and a wife, who have been somewhat estranged, are brought into closer psychical sympathy by the birth and rearing of children, and it is quite safe to say that the fact of parenthood almost invariably strengthens the bond between father and mother.

How many family organizations are preserved simply to avoid the scandal incident to an open or formal dissolution it is impossible to determine, but that this external force plays some part in the cohesion of a great number of modern families cannot be denied.

§ 83. We come next to an examination of the ties which unite father and mother with their offspring. The most obvious and primary bond is that of physical dependence of children upon parents. It is necessary that the young should be nourished and protected from the early period of their helplessness up to the time that they assume quasi-independent relations of one kind or another. This dependence is not only physical, but psychical. Natural affection, the chief bond of union in the family, has, as it exists between parent and child, two aspects — from the one side, authority, from the other, docility. The relation is best expressed by the Latin terms *auctoritas* and *pietas*. Both qualities originate in the natural superiority of the parents. In actual society, we find the exercise of parental authority varying from virtual tyranny to the most lax and vacillating policy of control; filial docility also ranges from trembling obedience to open impudence. On the whole, however, the parent and child are united by a bond of natural affection, which is characterized on the one hand by some degree of beneficence, discipline, and encouragement, on the other, by a certain measure of gratitude, obedience, and confidence.

Parents and children

Children physically and psychically dependent on parents

Auctoritas and *pietas*

**Complexity of
family rela-
tions**

The relations of parents and children give rise to a variety of combinations. Thus the relations of father to son, of father to daughter, of mother to son, and of mother to daughter, all present phenomena of a more or less peculiar character. The father usually exerts an influence of a kind quite different from that of the mother. The former has more of the master in his tone and manner, if not in his heart; the latter, as a rule, admonishes and persuades in a gentler spirit. So also the father can sometimes manage a son whom the mother cannot control. Again, just the reverse is true, and the maternal influence is the stronger. Thus we see that, while the bonds between parents and children may be described in terms of wide generalization, they do, in fact, present countless variations in degree and in the proportion of elements.

Aged parents

Mention should also be made here of the relations existing between aged parents and mature children who repay, in part, the debt of care and protection which they owe to those who rendered them so much of loving service in the early years.

Illustrations

Illustrations of these most familiar facts of social life are to be found in the personal experience of the student. It is as unnecessary as it would be difficult, within the limits of our space, to give concrete examples of the relations above described. The student is urged, however, to apply to such material as he may have in mind these abstract statements concerning the ties which hold members of a family in a unified group.

**Brothers and
sisters**

§ 84. The relation of brothers and sisters is naturally that of equals by birth, having similar rights and similar duties, and animated by the same reciprocal affections. This does not exclude a certain temporary prerogative of authority and example of the older towards the younger. Nor does it forbid the assumption by one of the children of the repre-

sentative functions of the family in case of special hereditary, industrial, or political office in the family. The natural affection which is the general bond of union between brothers and sisters is largely conditioned upon equality of treatment by the parents. The bond between brothers and sisters is strong in proportion as they feel that, due allowance being made for difference in age, all share equally in the love of their parents and in the distribution of family property.

The relation between children in general one of equality

The preëminence of one child, if due to age or ability, and if brought about gradually and naturally, does not, as a rule, disturb the harmony of the relations between children. It is only gross favoritism or arbitrary advancement that causes discord.

Preëminence of one child not necessarily a source of discord

The relation of brothers to sisters has in it an element of protection, while the affection of sisters for brothers is characterized by a certain feminine quality of idealism and devotion.

In the average American family, good feeling and genuine affection in general prevail among brothers and sisters. All, in proportion to their ages, are offered approximately equal opportunities for education, and receive equal shares of food, clothing, spending-money, etc. They have little reason for feelings of jealousy. If the oldest brother, or a younger brother of conspicuous ability, is advanced to a place of prominence in the factory in which the family property is largely invested, he is an object rather of pride than of envy. He is known to be consulting the interests of all the children, who do not begrudge him such additional personal advantage as he may gain.

Illustrations

Relations between American children of the same family harmonious

Under the régime of primogeniture, as it still exists in England and on the Continent, a quite different state of things is possible. The eldest son, heir to almost the whole of the family property, is, by the mere fact of birth, raised to a plane of prospective wealth and social position far above his younger brothers, who, according to English tradition, are supposed to regard him with intense hatred. It is easy to imagine that the system is not conducive to fraternal harmony.

Effect of primogeniture

Relatives by
blood and
marriage

§ 85. The number of personal elements which may be connected with the nucleus of the family by relationships of blood and by the intermarriage of children with the members of other families is capable of various degrees of expansion. The ties thus formed may reach over great distances, and ramify in peculiar ways through the structure of a whole society. Other things being equal, these bonds will be strong in proportion to nearness of relationship, frequency and permanency of actual contact, and congeniality of tastes.

Ties of rela-
tionship vary
in strength

These conditions, however, vary in influence and are further modified by the psychical peculiarities of different families. We may here repeat that a limitation of the family, as a personal social structure, to that group of individuals who live together in the same domicile is important for the sake of clearness of view. When children have assumed other social relations permanently, they have, by so much, become parts of other structural groups or families. In such circumstances, the ties of consanguinity and marriage lose their distinctive character as family bonds, and become forces which unite family with family into a more complex structure. We may conceive of these relationships, then, as among the secondary influences of social cohesion in distinction from the primary forces which insure the solidarity of the family.

Intermarriage
between chil-
dren of differ-
ent families

Illustrations

While, under ordinary circumstances, the bond between a daughter and her family is very much closer than that between a cousin and the same household, yet it is quite possible for the situation to be reversed. The daughter marries, moves to a distance, becomes absorbed in her new life, is unable to visit her old home except at long intervals. The cousin remains with her relative as a permanent member of the family group. It almost inevitably happens that propinquity and daily association endear the collateral relative more and more, while the other tie actually, though not admittedly, grows decidedly weaker. It must be remembered, however, that families vary widely in regard to what is

known as the family feeling; and that, in many cases, the disadvantages of space and distance are fully counterbalanced by ardor of clan spirit.

The social significance of intermarriage is generally recognized. A family in Ohio has a married son in New York, another in Chicago, a daughter has settled with her husband in a town near home, a second has married in her native village. These different relationships connect, in degrees largely determined by distance or ability to travel frequently, a large group of widely scattered families. It is unnecessary to point out the effect which a countless network of such relationships exerts in holding the personal elements of a whole nation together in a compact social structure. It is largely by this influence that the tendency to provincialism or local differentiation is counteracted.

Structural
significance of
intermarriage

§ 86. In very many, if not the majority, of modern families, we find one or more domestic servants. The number varies with the wealth and social position of the family, from the one "hired girl" of the average American home, to the organized *suite de ménage* of a European prince. The bond between servants and the family is primarily economic, and, in most cases, is that of free contract. But the relation assumes different aspects in different countries. In old societies, in which fixed gradation of rank and the supremacy of higher over lower are, on the whole, still recognized, servants acquiesce in a régime of subordination to an authority which is something far more than the right of an employer in the purely economic sense. This exercise of authority on the side of the master, mistress, and children is usually met on the side of the servant with a measure of loyalty, fidelity, and pride in the family. It is within the truth to say that this bond is as much psychical as it is economic.

Domestic
servants

The bond is
chiefly economic,

but often
psychical

In a comparatively new society like that of the United States, the relation between servants and the family is difficult to describe. It is, in most cases, preëminently economic. The subordination requisite for efficient domestic economy is not derived from any well-recognized stratifica-

The status of
servants in the
United States

tion of society. As a consequence, the status of servants ranges from that of comparative equality with the family, through various grades of strife, sullen acquiescence, delicately balanced equanimity, to cheerful and willing docility secured by tactful and considerate treatment.

It is almost needless to remark that these different conditions are determined by the combinations of two variables — the characters of servants, and masters (or mistresses), respectively. We do not need to have our attention called by newspaper articles and symposia on the "servant question" to the unsettled nature of the relations which exist between families and servants in the United States. Personal experience, the complaints of friends, and the increasing importation of foreign servants by well-to-do Americans emphasize the fact that this bond is far from being as satisfactory and efficient in its way as the other family ties.

Illustrations

English
servants

In middle or upper class English households the servants, whatever they may be at heart, are externally almost uniformly courteous and skillful. In many cases they wear livery which, together with all other necessary clothing, is generally supplied by the family. The wages are low, but these are supplemented in the larger establishments by liberal "tips" from guests. Domestic service is a profession. A young English butler, who came recently to the United States, expressed surprise that American young men did not go into service instead of working in grimy factories. Nothing could better illustrate the difference in points of view.

It is safe to say that the vast majority of American menservants (at least of "inside men" as distinguished from coachmen and hostlers) are either negroes or foreigners who conform readily to the régime of subordination.

In the United
States the
majority of
servants are
women

But, after all, the number of household menservants in the United States is comparatively small. Women compose the great body of domestics. In the South and in many Northern families, the colored race supplies reasonably good servants, but, nevertheless, in the majority of American homes, one has to deal with comparatively untrained American, Irish, German, and Scandinavian maids, the two former

classes capable, but peculiarly sensitive and restive under control; the two latter faithful, but often slow and unintelligent.

When we remember, on the other hand, that too many American housewives are lacking in sympathy and tact, if they are not positively domineering, we can easily explain the strained relations which exist between families and servants in so large a number of American homes.

§ 87. As we have already pointed out, the family holds certain relations to land and wealth which are at once conditions of its existence and factors in its structure. We now examine in detail the components of the wealth which, by virtue of recognized rights of appropriation and possession, we may call the family property. First, then, we discover that the typical modern family has orderly relations with the land and occupies a domicile. This possession may be either a result of actual ownership or secured by the payment of rent. We may regard the land in connection with or as a part of the domicile, not as economic capital, which we are to discuss in another section.

The family
domicile

The family domicile is structurally adapted to the needs of its occupants, generally in proportion to their wealth, taste, and social position, and as has been shown (§ 74), it is modified by natural conditions of climate. The character of the special society of which the family is a part has also a marked influence upon the structure of the domicile which, other things being equal, varies in form with the density of population and degree of organization. It would be an artificial distinction to regard the equipment and furnishing of the domicile as essentially different from the house itself, but it may be well to mention different phases of household goods or property under subsequent sections.

Wealth, taste,
climate, social
organization
determine the
character of
the domicile

The family domicile may be the dugout of a prairie settler, a house in a city row, two rooms in a rickety tenement, an English manor house, a modern French chateau, or a Moorish house in Seville. In essential principle, all these bear the same relation to family life.

Illustrations

A comparative study of modern domestic architecture would be a most interesting pursuit. The influences of natural conditions, of race characteristics, of industrial development, of social organization, might be traced with great profit.

An evolution-
ary archite-
tural series

Contemporary societies furnish architectural types which form a complete evolutionary series from a condition of comparative isolation to a state of high organization. In the United States, such a series might be composed of: wigwam, dugout, log cabin, rough hemlock shanty, clapboarded and shingled farmhouse, village house, town house with lawn, house in a city row, flat in a large apartment house.

The house-
hold goods

consist of
means of
(1) protection,
(2) housekeep-
ing, (3) intel-
lectual and
æsthetic
culture

§ 88. The division of family property designated as household goods, includes (1) means of personal protection, such as clothing, (2) means of domestic labor or house-keeping, (3) means of intellectual and æsthetic culture. It is unnecessary to expand in any detail these separate elements of family property. As we remarked above, furniture of the house should be included with the domicile. What is true of the latter applies equally to the former.

That part of the family wealth which, by distribution, becomes virtually if not technically the property of individual members of the family, includes chiefly means of protection and sustentation. The means of intellectual culture embrace books, papers, pictures, statuary, musical instruments, and all other material things which mediate psychical influences. The quantity and proportion in which these things exist in any given family depend upon the various conditions, physical and psychical, which have already been mentioned.

The family
capital

§ 89. An income is absolutely essential to family existence. Let us now examine the sources of such necessary subsistence. While in a sense much of the family wealth above described may be classed as capital, it does not deserve that name from the economic standpoint. If we confine the term "capital" strictly to its technical meaning, we must apply the word solely to such wealth as in one way or another is a

source of family income. In very many cases the family property consists of natural resources and of means of production which furnish more or less regular returns.

The family may use its capital in several ways. It may supply the necessary labor, it may supplement its own labor by hiring assistants, it may, through the labor of its representative, receive the returns of superintendence and the profits of production from an industrial enterprise, or it may simply invest its capital in interest-bearing securities and turn its activities into other than economic pursuits.

Different ways
of using
capital

A vast number of families, however, do not possess any considerable economic capital, in the ordinary sense. They are, nevertheless, in receipt of incomes in the form of wages, fees, and salaries paid to their members. Whether these returns are to be regarded as returns from the incorporeal capital of labor, technical skill, and special knowledge, is a question for political economy to decide. We simply observe and report the existence of the phenomena.

Incomes
other than
from economic
capital

A family owning a farm and implements may, by the labor of its members, raise products and exchange them for other goods, thus securing an income. It may increase its production by employing a number of farm hands. It may sell farm and implements and with the money build a factory, buy raw materials, and employ laborers. Only the father of the family may take an active part in the business, receiving profits from his capital and compensation for his oversight. Or, finally, the factory may be sold, the money invested in bonds, and the family may live in industrial inactivity on the interest.

Illustrations

The day laborer, the skilled mechanic, the teacher, the doctor, the minister, all of whom may represent families, receive incomes in return for their services.

Certain personal and material factors form the primary combination or social structure, the family. The personal elements are united by bonds of physical necessity and of consequent natural affection which present, between the

Summary

different individuals, various aspects of superiority, subordination, and coördination. The material factors serve as means of protection of physical and psychical development, and largely as a source of family income.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Defense of monogamy on other than statistical grounds.
2. The lessons of *Middlemarch* concerning the relation of husband and wife.
3. Observe contrasts in character between childless married people and parents.
4. Observe contrasts in character between boys who have sisters and those who have none.
5. Observe contrasts in character between girls who have brothers and those who have none.
6. Sources of discord among the children of a family.
7. Observe contrasts between married and unmarried men at different ages.
8. Observe contrasts between married and unmarried women at different ages.
9. A codification of the laws of marriage and divorce in the state in which the writer lives.
10. A codification of the laws of property rights between husbands and wives in the state in which the writer lives.
11. A codification of the laws of inheritance in the state in which the writer lives.
12. Considerations drawn from observation for and against the policy of marrying contrary to the wishes of parents.
13. A study of servants from actual observation, showing advantages and disadvantages of domestic service as a profession.
14. Relative number of home-owning and tenant families in the community where the writer lives.
15. Proportion of families that are employed in producing means of subsistence in the community where the writer lives.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AGGREGATES AND ORGANS—THE MANIFOLDNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

§ 90. We have advanced in our examination of social structure from its component elements to the arrangements which they assume in primary groups, or families. Our next step will be to discover how these families, as such, or at least in the persons of their chief representatives, are joined in larger and more complex social combinations. These larger groups may be distinguished, according to the nature of their arrangements and their cohesive forces, as (*a*) aggregates and (*b*) organs.

Social aggregates in general

The term "aggregate" describes a combination of elementary or complex components into a coherent mass. But the word does not connote any relation other than proximity of parts and a certain permanency of position, which, in turn, imply the existence of a force adequate to maintain the combination. An aggregate may suffer division into two or more aggregates, each of which will resemble, in every respect save size, the original mass.

An aggregate is a coherent mass which may be divided without injury

Thus, in society, we discover certain psychically, though not physically, coherent combinations of persons and goods (the latter subordinated and comparatively unimportant) which may be described accurately as social aggregates. They are composed of family groups or of individuals who may be thought of as in some measure representatives of families. These primary groups and these individuals are

Social aggregates are psychically, not physically, coherent

held together by certain bonds which may be broadly distinguished as (a) spontaneous and (b) voluntary. In many cases, however, the distinction cannot be definitely established.

**Spontaneous
aggregates**

§ 91. We find, in society, combinations of primary groups drawn together and held in more or less permanent relations of sympathy and interest by the fact of (1) *blood relationship*, of which mention has already been made (§§ 82-85). Another strong cohesive force in social aggregates is (2) a *common ancestry* to which members of the group trace their origin. Still larger mass combinations are solidified by the feeling of (3) *common nationality*, a bond of almost universal power. Again, vast aggregates of lesser groups are joined by the fact of membership in (4) the *same race*, a much wider and less definite attraction than the common ancestry mentioned above, but nevertheless a social force which should not be disregarded in our analysis.

**Ties of rela-
tionship, com-
mon ancestry,
nationality,
and race**

**Common
birthplace and
territorial
community**

Two other influences which form and maintain social aggregates, although they are not wholly distinct from some of the bonds already enumerated, deserve separate mention. (5) A *common birthplace*, with its memories and associations, is a potent cohesive force which is universally recognized. Quite as strong, if not, indeed, more influential, is the fact of (6) *territorial community*, of inhabiting the same village, town, city, or country.

**Bewildering
complexity of
social aggre-
gates**

In thinking of these aggregates, the student should not be deceived into regarding these relations as comparatively simple. As a matter of fact, they are bewilderingly complex, much more so than any form of treatment can adequately express. The aggregates which have thus been described in general terms must be conceived, not as definite and easily distinguished, but as varying in size from

small groups to vast masses, and as including and overlapping each other in almost numberless ways. Emphasis should again be laid upon the fact that these aggregates, as such, are almost exclusively composed of personal elements; land and wealth are wholly subordinate.

We have only to observe the society of which we are a part to discover the structures which have been described. Illustrations

Family ties are everywhere recognized. By the intermarriage of children, family groups, scattered over varying areas, are held together in more or less intimate relations of interest, sympathy, and affection.

The fact of common ancestry unites the descendants of the Pilgrims, and draws together those of the Huguenots. The Huguenot Society of America is an expression, in part at least, of this tendency. The Huguenot Society of America

Common physical nationality as distinguished from political brotherhood tends to unite, in some measure, the German people not only within the limits of the German Empire, but wherever they are to be found, in Austria, Russia, America, etc. In like manner, there is a degree of coherence between the various divisions of the English people the world over, in Great Britain, the United States, Australia, and India. The German people

The English people

This national clannishness is conspicuously characteristic of the Irish-American, German, Italian, and similar newspapers of the United States. One very important general effect of this journalism is to consolidate masses of citizens on the ground of common nationality and language with a view to social and political action. Various nationalities in the United States

Great masses of men are united by the fact of common race. The white race has a certain solidarity as opposed to that of the black race or of the yellow race. This fact is especially observable in the United States, where, however, the race distinction is complicated with many other factors. The white vs. the black race

Men who have associations connected with a common birthplace are naturally drawn into social relations. It is impossible to separate this element of attraction from many others which are always present with it, but the various New England societies, which give annual dinners in our chief cities, find at least one reason for existence in this fact of common birthplace. New England societies

The people who inhabit the same territory have, as a result of such community, a certain coherence. This fact is conspicuously true of

Local loyalty smaller groups. Loyalty to one's town or city is proverbial. The *esprit de corps* of a young and progressive city is a notable feature of its social life, and holds the entire population in a definite aggregate.

Voluntary aggregates § 92. As distinguished broadly from these social combinations which result from natural conditions of common birth and geographical location, we discover other aggregates of essentially the same structure, but determined by factors which are not wholly independent of individual volition. To the latter groups we apply the term "voluntary," but, in thus recognizing the presence of a volitional element, we do not by any means deny the continued influence of many conditioning forces.

Volitional element is limited

Classes

Among the more obvious voluntary social aggregates we may mention: (1) *Classes* or combinations of men according to wealth. These distinctions are fully recognized in the older societies of Europe, but are by no means so clearly defined in the United States. The fact is indisputable, however, that the rich are united by a certain community of interests, just as the well to do and the poor have each a coherence due to similarity of economic conditions.

Trades and professions

(2) *Trades and Professions* occasion other social structures. Those who are engaged in the same occupation have, in that very fact, a common bond which tends to hold them in a coherent relation.

Friendships

(3) *Friendships*, which are formed in a great variety of ways as the result of manifold causes, determine and maintain social aggregates restricted in size, but generally firm in structure.

Schools, societies, and parties

(4) *Schools, Societies, and Parties* are terms which describe social combinations that are preserved by common interests of many different kinds. Men who have been trained to think in much the same way about literature, science, art, and politics, naturally arrange themselves into congenial groups which are maintained with more or less permanency. (5) *Religious Bodies*, although

Religious bodies

in a general way included under societies, are of such importance as to require separate mention. Common religious belief is one of the most potent of social forces, and holds men in aggregates always compact and often indissoluble. (6) *Common Language* may be described, perhaps, rather as a condition than a cause of social combinations. It is so intimately associated with common ancestry and birthplace as to belong quite as much among the bonds of spontaneous aggregates as among those of voluntary combinations. (7) *Political Nationality* is a universal and generally efficient cohesive force in social aggregates. The love of a common country tends to hold men of different ancestry, classes, and creeds in a more or less compact union. Here, as elsewhere, *tendency* only is asserted and the possible existence of neutralizing forces is recognized. (8) *International Aggregates* are formed by such bonds of common interest as are not limited in influence to any one nation. We find, therefore, social combinations which recognize no political boundaries, but include within the area of their associations members of many different nations.

Common
languagePolitical
nationalityInternational
ties

In Europe, society is stratified into (1) Aristocracy (hereditary, official) and wealthy, (2) Middle Class, "third estate," or *bourgeoisie*, (3) Working Class, or "*proletariat*." Some sociologists have suggested still another division, to include the economic dregs of society.

Illustrations
Social stratifi-
cation in
Europe

While in the United States such formal divisions are unrecognized, actual conditions warrant a rough classification into (1) Wealthy, — large capitalists, etc.; (2) Well to do, — merchants and salaried persons; (3) daily wage earners; (4) unskilled and often unemployed laborers.

and in the
United States

It is clear that the rich are attached to each other by common property interests, privileges, and exclusive social intercourse; the poor develop community of sentiment through common interest in the wage problem and through hatred of "wealth." Obviously the same force which holds the members of one class together tends to maintain its separation from the other classes in so far as there is a conflict of interests.

Aggregates
formed by
common
occupation

Associations of persons engaged in the same occupation or profession are thoroughly familiar phenomena. Trades unions, in one aspect at least, are examples of such social combinations. Associations of manufacturers, real estate dealers, underwriters, lawyers, physicians, teachers, etc., suggest themselves at once as illustrations of such voluntary aggregates.

Merchants and
customers,
doctors and
patients

The relation existing between a merchant and his customers, or a doctor and his patients, tends to maintain another kind of aggregate which may be appropriately mentioned at this point. It is because people form the habit of dealing with a certain merchant, or of consulting a certain doctor, that a trade or a practice is built up which, by reason of its coherence, can be bought and sold. Hence, the expression, the "stock and good will" of a business, and hence, too, the ambition of humble characters in English fiction to purchase a "milk walk" and settle down to a quiet life.

Friendships
make small
but compact
groups

Friendships form groups based upon psychical affinities which baffle complete analysis. They are usually small but compact structures, and are of marked social importance. Such friendships as those of the Lake poets and the Concord group of writers are well known. The personal bonds which, in rare cases, unite rich men with the best representatives of labor are of great structural significance.

The French
Academy,
Royal Society,
etc.

The French Academy, the English Royal Society, and many other associations of scientists, *littérateurs*, and artists, the *laissez faire* and the historical schools of political economists, secret orders, reform clubs, literary societies, etc., are examples of social groups arranged and preserved by bonds of common interest and similarity of mental attitude. Conspicuous among such aggregates are those of political partisanship, such as radicals, liberals, conservatives, democrats, republicans, prohibitionists, socialists. These latter aggregates especially are, as a rule, compact and offer resistance to attempts at sudden division or readjustment.

General relig-
ious aggre-
gates capable
of minute
subdivision

The larger masses which gain coherence from common religious belief are capable of analysis into smaller groups, which are discovered to be more and more compact as the primary forms are approached. Thus, monotheists include broadly Jews, Mohammedans, Christians, and the latter, in turn, are resolved into Latin and Greek Catholics, and Protestants; the third again may be classified as "liberals" and "evangelicals." The latter include Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and scores of other denominations, each of which is more or less firmly united by a common creed and ecclesiastical

polity. Yet even in the same denomination, we trace division into still smaller groups to correspond with a variety of special convictions and inclinations. Thus we have "high church" and "low church" Episcopalians, "liberal" and "conservative" Presbyterians, etc. Religious aggregates, by reason of their size, coherence, and permanence, deserve the most careful study on the part of the social anatomist.

It is obvious that a common language is a condition as well as a cause of maintaining social aggregates. Each language tends at least to give a certain coherence to all who speak it. A company of passengers of the same class on a Mediterranean steamer usually group themselves primarily according to language. The population of an American city is largely divided by language into aggregates which do not always correspond exactly with national or race distinctions.

The attempts of the French in Canada and of the Germans in Wisconsin to preserve their respective languages are evidences of this social force.

The power of political nationality is, in a sense, the resultant of the cohesive social forces which have been enumerated. It may be largely neutralized by other influences, but for the present we ignore such complications and consider the force in its efficiency. When a given people are organized in a stable political whole, the bond of union thus recognized tends to preserve the integrity of the aggregate. Thus, during the American Civil War, this force of political nationality successfully withstood internal disruption. So also political nationality gives to Germany and to Italy a coherence which mere physical nationality never could attain.

Among social aggregates which are not limited by political boundaries may be mentioned: the Roman Catholic church, the Socialist movement in Europe, various academies and learned societies, religious associations like the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, etc.

§ 93. At the beginning of this chapter, we distinguished social combinations as aggregates and organs. We have seen that the former are composed almost exclusively of personal elements held together in certain relations by various bonds of common interest. We find, however, still other combinations of social elements in which wealth or property assumes far greater importance, and families or individuals sustain

Common language a condition of coherence

Political nationality

Coherence of Germany and Italy

Social aggregates not limited by political boundaries

Social organs in general

Aggregates and organs distinguished

Organs display interdependence, and suffer or perish if divided

relations other than those of natural or congenial association. The relations which distinguish social organs, as these latter combinations are termed, are either internal interdependence, or dependence upon the whole organism, or both, by virtue of which the combination suffers injury and even destruction if it is divided or isolated. This is not in the same sense true, as we have seen, of social aggregates, which are combined upon a different principle.

Although it may not seem strictly in harmony with our method to introduce a criterion which belongs properly to a subsequent division of this volume, *Social Physiology*, yet it is necessary to do so because of the intimate interrelation of structure and function.

Organs are functional combinations

Social organs may be described, therefore, as *functional* combinations of persons and property, *i.e.* peculiar arrangements of individuals and material elements to which is assigned the performance of social tasks. As a general rule, to which of course there are exceptions, the more definite social organs represent the chief occupations of those who compose them, while social aggregates simply give expression to relations of common interest and sympathy.

The family is a component of organs as well as of aggregates

It seems best here to answer an objection which is likely to arise in the mind of the student; namely, that, while we have discovered that the family is the primary social group of which larger structures are composed, we have, in many cases, treated aggregates as if they were made up of individuals rather than of families. The reply to such criticism is, that, in the vast majority of instances where aggregates are concerned, families, as such, enter into the structure, or, if not, they are really represented by individuals and virtually form part of the whole. In the case of organs, it is difficult to establish the fact so clearly, but in general, the family of the individual who sustains personal relations to an organ is properly grouped with that structure in its broadest aspects.

Exceptional cases may be cited, which can be reduced to order only by a careful special examination. As a wide generalization, however, the statement we have made as to the relation of the family to social structure seems to accord with the facts.

A factory building, machinery, raw material, capital, manager, and employees are combined in a social organ which turns out a finished product. Division of labor throughout the establishment, and the necessary relation between the men and machinery create interdependence within the factory. If the building is burned, or the men strike, the organ is temporarily useless. Again, the factory, as a whole, is dependent on society. If society fails to use the product, and consequently to sustain the establishment, it must cease to exist.

Illustrations

A factory a social organ

A large social organ may be further analyzed into parts, each of which is dependent on the whole. Thus, every workman, in case of minute division of labor, is efficient only in coöperation with others. The ultimate criterion of the organic relation is, therefore, *dependence* on the whole organism.

Dependence is the criterion of the organic relation

A social aggregate as distinguished from a social organ, a "society set," for example, may be broken up into two or more groups, each of which may continue active, and, in all but size, resemble the original combination.

It is not, however, possible to distinguish with precision between aggregates and organs. The family itself, which we have regarded from one point of view as an aggregate, is, from another, an organ. A group may gain coherence from belief in a common creed, and it may also be combined into a church for performing a social function. Employees of a railway may be joined socially by common interests in their occupation, and besides, may be organized into a union which, in one aspect, is merely an aggregate, but in another is a means for accomplishing definite ends.

No precise and absolute distinction between aggregates and organs

It is obvious that organic relations distinguish men as operatives, engineers, policemen, draymen, storekeepers, teachers, judges, editors, clergymen, etc. Exceptional men may be so versatile as to baffle classification, but, for the majority, status is determined by characteristic occupations which consist either in being a social organ or a part of one.

A man's occupation implies his organic relation to society

Emphasis need not be laid upon the fact that a man's family, if not a

part of the social organ in which he is combined, is, at least, intimately associated with it. The immediate families of factory operatives are properly included in a broad view of the whole organ which effects certain production. The fact that different members of the same family may be engaged in different occupations, and the existence of single men and women living in isolation from their families, do not seriously affect the truth of the general observation.

Structural
interrela-
tions of
aggregates;
many-sided-
ness of indi-
viduals

§ 94. Again the student is warned against the apparent simplicity which our method of examination discloses in the structure of society. For the sake of clearness, we have studied aggregates and organs singly and independent of their relations with other groups. It is now necessary to emphasize the fact that these manifold social combinations are not definitely separate and parallel, but that they interpenetrate and interweave in numberless ways which render exact statement utterly impossible.

The social unit
is not fixed in
any one rela-
tion

Another observation of the greatest importance must be introduced at this point. *The individual in society is not fixed in any one relation*, is not a part of one group or organ only, but may and does combine with other persons in different ways to form as many different associations. Thus it becomes clear that social aggregates, since they have so many points (individuals) in common, must, of necessity, cross, penetrate, include, and overlap each other in bewildering fashion.

Strong and
weak social
textures

In direct proportion to the many-sidedness of its individuals and the consequent interlacing of its aggregates, is a society firm in texture and strong to resist disruption or external shock. On the other hand, a population of limited individuality, and composed of social groups in a large measure independent, is lacking in compactness and coherence, and offers comparatively slight resistance to force from within or from without. The student of the peculiar structure of a given society must examine, with the greatest care,

not only the different component aggregates in their individual aspects, but their interrelations when combined and viewed as a whole.

The many-sidedness of every individual is obvious. The same man may be husband, father, neighbor, manufacturer, bank director, alderman, republican committee man, president of a street railway, church deacon, member of a lodge, trustee of a hospital, officer of a social club, member of a college alumni association, of a literary club, of a Holland society; he may have scores of warm personal friends with whom he associates in many different ways. Another may be husband, father, neighbor, bricklayer, trades-unionist, member of a Turn Verein, church member, secretary of a building and loan association; he, too, may have a number of friends. At one time or another each of these men is a part of the various groups implied in the foregoing enumerations. They may happen to be members of the same church, in which case their social relations will have a point of intersection.

Illustrations

Many-sided individuals

A church which includes in its membership all classes of society is a strong bond weaving through many social aggregates. Fashionable churches on the one hand, and "people's churches" on the other, valuable as they may be, fail to serve in the highest possible degree the interests of compact social structure.

Fashionable and "people's churches"

A university settlement, which helps to establish relations of sympathy, interest, and friendship between rich and poor, educated and ignorant, does good service in strengthening the social fabric.

University settlements

A civic federation, which unites all classes of citizens in promotion of good government, forms an aggregate which binds together many other groups, economic, racial, linguistic, religious.

Civic federations

The Evangelical Alliance, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Masonic orders, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and many other associations, serve to solidify social relations among certain classes in the United States, and to counteract, in some measure, the forces which tend to form distinct groups and to maintain them in an isolation not perhaps economic, but largely physical and psychical. The number of illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely, but would always fall short of complete statement. The student is urged to continue for himself the accumulation of illustrative material.

Evangelical Alliance, Young Men's Christian Association, etc.

In estimating the strength of large social structures, like those of nations, the facts now under consideration are of great value. Such a

Structural strength of Germany, England, and France compared with that of Austro-Hungary

nation as Germany, England, or France, with a common, or greatly preponderating language, with general community of physical origin and historical experience, with geographical and economic conditions favorable to unity, and with religious creeds, if not identical, at least not violently antagonistic, will have a firm coherence.

On the other hand, a political nation, like the Austro-Hungarian Empire, made up of German, Slav, Magyar, and Czech elements, each of which is a natural enemy of the other, and clings tenaciously to a peculiar language, preserves its unity with difficulty and offers comparatively slight resistance to attack.

Systems of social organs

§ 95. Having pointed out the essential characteristics of social organs, or combinations of persons and property for performing social tasks, we proceed as a next step to inquire in what way these organs are related to each other, and under what general divisions they naturally fall. Mr. Herbert Spencer has made a classification which, especially in considering society as a whole, or in studying a large and politically organized part of society, is perhaps the best that can be employed.

The sustaining, the transporting, and the regulating systems

In Spencer's view social organs are arranged in three general systems: (1) *The Sustaining System*; (2) *The Distributing System*; (3) *The Regulating System*. We shall adopt this classification with a single change in terminology, substituting for *the distributing system* the phrase, *the transporting system*, which conveys the idea clearly and is not in danger of being confused with "distribution" in the economic sense.

The three systems appear in every organic group

It should be pointed out just here that, not only in large societies, but in every complete social group, be it a family, a social organ, a village, a city, or a nation, we discover these three systems, at least in a rudimentary form. Illustrations of this fact will be postponed until the systems themselves have been more fully described, but this general statement should be kept in mind by the student.

§ 96. Under the sustaining system are included all social organs which are engaged in the production of wealth, in extracting and transforming industries. As has been already shown (§ 44), the structure of the sustaining system of a given society is determined by the nature of the land, its soil, climate, and mineral resources. The sustaining system, although primarily directly productive of the means for maintaining physical vitality, comprises also organs which provide shelter, improved technical devices, and countless other kinds of wealth which are not only conducive to individual and social existence, but make possible a higher plane of life.

The sustain-
ing system

The social organs which form the sustaining system cannot easily be enumerated with any completeness. It will suffice to name a few; such as farms, mines, stone quarries, lumber camps, oil wells, slaughter houses, flour mills, smelting furnaces, machine shops, tanneries, brick factories, planing mills, furniture factories, oil refineries, etc. It is obvious that all these organs imply widely varied natural resources, and consequently, in all probability, a large area.

Illustrations

Extracting and
transforming
industries

In a small society, ignoring, for the time, the materials imported from other sources, we find a local sustaining system less varied, it is true, yet preserving its essential character.

So, even in the family, we can trace, with more or less distinctness, a sustaining system. The farming family presents such a functional arrangement clearly, and in other family groups it is only obscured, not eliminated, by the medium of money. The head of a city family does not, like the farmer, bring into the house produce from the field, but he returns with money, which potentially represents supplies of food. The well-to-do wife may relegate to servants the transforming industry of cooking, but it is none the less a part of the household economy.

The sustaining
system of the
family

§ 97. Again, in examining social structure, we discover organs which serve to convey goods and persons between different parts of society, and still others whose function it is to exchange different kinds of wealth. In a classification

The trans-
porting
system

so general as that which we have adopted for our preliminary discriminations, the organic agencies for exchange of goods may very properly be included under the transporting system viewed in its broadest aspects. This is not the place for a discussion of the function of money or of exchange in its technical, economic sense.

The degree of organization of the system depends largely on natural resources

In proportion as a given society is established upon a large area which includes varied, widely scattered, and well-developed natural resources, the transporting system is discovered to be highly organized. As in the case of the sustaining system, the transporting system, while it is more clearly defined in a large society, is yet discernible in every organized social group. In fact, the transporting system in its broadest aspects is largely composed of the transporting systems of the smaller groups which make up the greater organism.

Illustrations

Examples of transporting organs come readily to mind. Footpaths and pedestrians or horsemen; roads, men, horses and wagons; railways, men, and trains; pipe lines, men, and water or oil pumps; pneumatic tubes, men, and air pumps; waterways, men, and boats; buildings and men (stores)—all are organic combinations of persons and property designed to perform this service of transportation (and exchange). The organ may be slightly differentiated, as in the case of the farmer's boy and horse temporarily set aside for carrying corn to the mill, or it may be completely and specifically devoted to transportation, as in the case of the men and materials which form a railway.

The transportation of a potato from the field to the table

At the risk of slightly anticipating our study of Social Physiology, yet for the sake of showing more clearly the structure of the transporting system not only in a large society, but also in smaller groups, let us trace the journey of a potato from its native hill in the farmer's field, to a place on the city man's table. Carried in a basket to the barn, put in a bag and drawn in a wagon to the wholesaler's warehouse in the nearest town (family transporting system); drawn by the dealer's team to the railway station (transporting organ of the warehouse); shipped by train to the city (general transporting organ); drawn by truckmen to a retail grocery (general transporting organ);

sent in grocery wagon to residence (transporting organ of grocery); after being cooked, carried by maid to dining table (family transporting system).

It is seen that the whole structure or apparatus by which this entire transportation is effected is made up of several parts, some belonging specifically to small groups, others set aside completely for the service. In this view, the wholesale and retail stores really form a part, serve as stages, in a sense, of the transportation.

§ 98. In addition to the organs which serve to produce wealth and to transport both property and persons, we discover still another class of functional combinations whose task it is to coördinate and render efficient the activities of the sustaining and transporting systems, and to discipline and develop the psychical powers of individuals in society. To this set of agencies we give the name *regulating system*. Again, we observe that each complete social group or organ, from the family to the state, has its own peculiar regulating system, and that the regulating system of a larger society is in part made up of the similar systems of the smaller groups which compose it.

The regulating system

The general system composed of minor systems

It is necessary, at this point, to call attention to the fact that the regulating system is essentially concerned with the generation and the communication of psychical influences, — knowledge, feeling, and willing. The social apparatus by which such communication is effected in society will be fully described in Chapter IV.

The regulating system of the family consists of the father and mother, in so far as they exercise authority, control conduct, apportion tasks, and thus aim to secure orderly and efficient performance of the family functions.

Illustrations

The president and cashier of a bank, in consultation with the directors, constitute the regulating system of that institution.

Bank directory

The railway dispatcher's corps issuing orders for the movements of trains is the regulating system of the transportation department.

Railway dispatcher

The chief manager, assistants, foremen, etc., of a factory are the regulating system of that establishment. Thus we can trace a similar arrangement in every organ or permanent group.

So, too, we find combinations of organs, with a common general regulating system superior to the similar system of each. Many different railways sustain relations determined by a central traffic association; "trusts" combine factories, etc., under a single regulating system, which directs the subordinate management of each. This whole subject will be further elaborated in our next chapter.

Governmental
regulating
system

Political organization, whether that of the township, city, state, or nation, constitutes preëminently the social regulating system. The government (which is to be carefully distinguished from the nation) is an organ constituted by society to regulate certain activities. Government presents a threefold structure: legislative, judicial, executive. The apparatus of the executive department, which, in a state, includes constables, policemen, health officers, customs officers, consuls, diplomatists, army, a navy, etc., is adapted to a great variety of regulative functions within the nation itself, and to rapid adjustment in relation to other nations.

The "Balti-
more" incident
at Valparaiso

For example, the sailors of the United States steamship "Baltimore" are attacked in the streets of Valparaiso. The fact is reported by the naval commander to the navy department, and by the American minister to the state department at Washington, where a consultation of officials is instantly held. Within a few hours, the minister is instructed to demand an apology and indemnity from the Chilean government. At the same time, all United States war vessels within reasonable distances of Valparaiso are ordered to be ready to sail at a moment's notice, or to proceed at once down the Pacific coast, calling at various ports for further instructions. Such is the coördinating and regulating apparatus of an efficiently organized government.

The educa-
tional system

The educational system, inasmuch as it expands and diffuses knowledge, trains the faculties, and, in general, increases the psychical efficiency of social units, each of whom, in the last analysis, is a part of the total regulating system, is properly included in that division of social organs.

The ecclesias-
tical system

The relation of the church to the political regulating system varies in different states. Where the church is, in a sense, a department of the government, as in the case of a state church, the political and ecclesiastic apparatus are closely associated; but in the United States, these two structures are distinct, although not generally opposed. The

church, as a whole, even with its internal antagonisms, constitutes a part of the regulating system of society, urging, as a rule, conformity of individual conduct with high ethical standards, obedience to *all* laws and the constitutional modification of them to meet new conditions or to embody higher ideals.

Primary social groups or families combine into (1) *aggregates*, in which property plays a wholly subordinate part, and coherence is maintained by bonds of blood relationship, race, language, geographical location, wealth, occupation, community of knowledge, temperament, taste, religion, and political nationality; (2) *organs*, in which property forms an important element, and persons are combined in relations of interdependence among themselves, and dependence as a group, upon society, to perform certain social tasks. Since every individual is a part of many aggregates and organs, these various groups have many points in common, or, in other words, are not definitely separate, but interwoven in a multiplicity of ways. Summary

The functional combinations of society, or social organs, may be classified as (1) *the sustaining system*, which produces wealth, (2) *the transporting system*, which conveys wealth and population from one part of society to another, and (3) *the regulating system*, which coördinates and renders efficient social activities and raises to a higher power the psychical forces of men and society.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Influence of differences of physical nationality and language on the social structure of any American village, town, or city.
2. The standards which divide "the rich," "the well to do," and "the poor," in the community where the writer lives.
3. Extent to which the population of a given town is composed of distinguishable spontaneous aggregates.
4. The most important voluntary aggregates in the same town.

5. A minute description from observation of the operation of an important social organ.
6. Comparison of a given town with a larger and a smaller town to show actual differences in number and character of social organs.
7. The functions sometimes performed by governments which are not performed by the authorities of a given town.
8. Observed instances of men who are active parts in several social organs.
9. The many-sided individual as a bond of union between different classes and groups; a specific example from personal observation.
10. The reasons in the social structure of a given town which insure against active race and class hostility.
11. A precise description of the relation of a selected family to (a) the local, and (b) the general, sustaining, transporting, and regulating system.
12. An analysis of the social structure on board a passenger steamship at sea.
13. A discrimination of the sustaining, transporting, and regulating systems of a modern metropolitan hotel.
14. The structural significance of the "public school question."
15. An examination of the laws passed by the last legislature of the state in which the writer lives, and an account of the proportion of various class interests which they apparently foster.

CHAPTER IV

THE PSYCHO-PHYSICAL COMMUNICATING APPARATUS, OR THE SOCIAL NERVOUS SYSTEM

§ 99. Forming a part of every aggregate and organ, ramifying throughout society to its minutest subdivisions, and, as a whole, bringing into more or less complete psychical contact all these parts of the organism, is a communicating system which it is our purpose, in the present chapter, to describe in detail. It was shown in the last chapter (§ 98) that this apparatus is essentially a part of the regulating system, to which it stands related very much as the nerve fibers to the coördinating and controlling centers in the animal organism. There are, therefore, more than imaginary grounds for describing these means of communication in society as "the social nervous system."

A communicating system penetrates the whole social organism

Our immediate task is to examine simply the structure of these communicating channels, postponing, as far as possible, all reference to the functions which they perform, considerations which belong properly to another division of our analysis. It is necessary at the outset to justify our use of the phrase "psycho-physical apparatus," which we have applied to the communicating system.

The psycho-physical apparatus

§ 100. Every communication in society is transmitted by an agency partly psychical and partly physical. The nerve fibers of individuals and physical media of different kinds combine with processes purely psychical to form continuous

Psychical and physical elements

Prominence of
the physical
element

routes along which impulses are transmitted. So large a part does wholly physical apparatus play in the combination, that those psychologists who doubt the reality of so-called psychical changes from molecular movement to mental states might almost regard the entire structure as continuity of physical contact. We are not prepared to accept this theory, but insist rather upon the preëminently psychical nature of the communicating channels, to which we apply the compound term "psycho-physical."

Illustrations

The transmis-
sion of a sim-
ple message

Let us trace the apparently simple apparatus by which an oral message, given to a housemaid at the door, is transmitted to her mistress. For our present purpose, we may regard the mind of the messenger as the starting point, and the mind of the mistress as the goal. The channel of communication is made up as follows: psychical activity, motor nerves, voluntary muscles of vocal apparatus in the messenger, sound waves in the air, auditory apparatus, auditory nerves and psychical change in the housemaid (the activity involved in walking from the door to the room of the mistress is only incidentally a part of the communication; it is a form of transportation; a speaking tube might render even this movement unnecessary). By a channel identical with that already described, — psychical change, motor nerves, vocal apparatus, sound waves, auditory apparatus and nerves, and psychical change, — the message reaches the mind or consciousness of the mistress. It is obvious that, in the case of written communications, or even mere signals, the means of transmission are only variations of essentially the same apparatus.

The individ-
ual a com-
municating
cell

§ 101. In final analysis, every social communication is effected between individuals, and every individual is a part of many different channels in the social nervous system. As to the first part of this statement, while it is true that technical devices for overcoming distance and preserving records enter into the structure of the communicating apparatus, they do not modify the principle of transmission. A little thought will make it clear that all psychical im-

pulses are communicated from individual to individual, whatever may be the physical medium between them.

Every psychical impulse passes from individual to individual

The second half of the proposition is equally true. Every individual plays some part, at least, in the structure of several communicating channels. When he is engaged in the ordinary occupations of daily life, no less than when he purposely and specifically transmits messages, he is a cell in one or another branch of the psycho-physical apparatus.

Whether men talk face to face, or through the telephone, or communicate by letter or telegram, they are always cells, however widely separated in distance. So, too, the newspaper correspondent in a distant country communicates directly with each reader of his dispatches as they appear in print. If one traces the channel from the writer to the reader, it is found to consist of individuals brought into contact by written language, the telegraph, printed words, etc.

Illustrations

Means for overcoming distance do not affect the principle of transmission

During a single day, a country storekeeper, besides communicating impulses incident to his occupation and his family life, is a means of transmitting facts and gossip of many kinds, in several different channels, throughout the community. The many sidedness of the individual, which has already been pointed out, is of significance in connection with this subject, for he forms a cell in the communicating apparatus of each group of which he is a part.

The country storekeeper a communicating cell

§ 102. Not only is every individual a mediating cell, but he is also a terminal cell of many different communicating channels. That is, every person both transmits impulses which are furnished to him by the next individual or cell in the series, and he also comes in contact with phenomena which produce in him psychological changes or impressions. These he communicates along the channel or channels of which he is the terminal cell, or the end organ. Every individual in society is to be thought of, therefore, as structurally a center from which radiate a greater or less number of psycho-physical channels. If we regard any two of these

The individual a terminal cell

End organ

converging channels as continuous, the individual is a connecting cell. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the individual, he is a terminal cell, or end organ, of all the lines of communication which radiate from him into society.

Again, the individual, although he exists in these two essentially different structural relations, very often combines the two, and at the same time mediates communications and modifies them by his own impressions.

Illustrations

The lookout at sea an end organ

On every large ocean steamship a lookout stands at the extreme bow, another seaman is stationed halfway between the first and the bridge upon which the officer in command paces to and fro. Thus a communicating channel is established. The lookout, observing a steamer, a sailing vessel, a wreck, or anything else of possible importance, calls out to the middle man, who, in turn, reports the information to the bridge. The first man is, in this case, an end organ, the second sailor is merely a communicating cell. So, in general, every person, in so far as he uses his senses and reports to another his impressions, is primarily an end organ, and incidentally, too, a communicating cell in some channel of the social nervous system.

Telephone office

The second point in our general statement may be illustrated by a telephone system, which, from its physical arrangements, lends itself readily to the purpose. The girl in the central office, when she telephones to Mr. Smith that Mr. Brown has asked her over his wire to give a certain message, is acting simply as a communicating cell. But when, Mr. Smith having asked her the exact time by the chronometer in the exchange, she looks at the dial and reports her observation to him, she is primarily a terminal cell, or end organ.

Exaggeration of rumor partly ex- plained

The proverbial reputation of rumor has its source in the tendency of men to combine simple communication and personal impression. Thus, A says to B, "Smith has been run over and seriously injured." B infers from A's manner that the accident must be fatal, and so reports to C, who, in turn, concludes that the victim is as good as dead, and accordingly gives D reason to suppose that the worst has happened. In each case A, B, and C have acted as both communicating cell and end organ. It is obvious that, in the exaggeration, there is at least a third element, the gratification one feels in deeply affecting another with startling tidings; but all allowance for other motives having been

made, there remains a variation due to the personal impressions of the individuals through whom the message has been transmitted.

§ 103. Having examined the structural relations of individuals in mediating channels, we come now to a description of the means by which psychical impulses are communicated from one person to another. These psychical phenomena, more commonly known as ideas, find outward expression in a great variety of symbols, which preserve and render ideas transmissible. Among such symbols, we may mention oral, written, and printed language, vocal and instrumental music, gestures, drawings, photographs, paintings, statues, theatrical and operatic representations, etc. The idea of an individual is visualized in one of these many symbols, which, submitted to the senses of another person, yields to him the same, or approximately the same, thought or emotion.

Means of communication between individuals: symbols

A symbol an objectified idea

The idea of fear may find expression in an exclamation, in a written or printed sentence, in a piece of music, in a look, movement, or attitude, in a painting. The power of the actor lies in his ability to symbolize in word, tone, and gesture, the emotions which he would portray. The charm of the master of prose is his skill to embody ideas in written speech, of which the eager reader is all but unconscious. The great composer is he who breathes into his music the passions of men and the forces of nature. The painter can seize and hold prisoner to his canvas the emotions of which the actor can give but a passing picture. So, too, the sculptor cuts away the marble from the image of grace or strength, of peaceful calm or strong passion, which his imagination sees buried in the massive block. Thus material symbols of psychical forces are created, and sent abroad into the world to be turned again into thought and feeling in the minds of those who can grasp their meaning.

Illustrations *

The actor, writer, painter, sculptor, etc., as symbol makers

§ 104. Our analysis has already assumed the existence of certain technical devices for rendering permanent and sending from place to place the symbols of psychical impulses. Oral speech and musical sounds, as such, defied, until recent times, all attempts at preservation and transmission, but now

Devices for preserving and transporting symbols

Telephone and
phonograph

the phonograph and the telephone make it possible both to record for reproduction at will, and to send over several hundred miles of wire, these vibrations of air waves.

Letters,
papers, and
books

The characters by which sounds are graphically represented lend themselves readily to fairly permanent and easily transported forms. Thus, letters written with pen and ink, or writing machine, papers and books from the printing press, manuscript and printed music, preserve the symbols of language and melody, and may be sent without difficulty from place to place.

Paintings,
photographs,
statues, etc.

Again these characters or letters, translated into a code of arbitrary sounds, or indicated by more complicated devices, may be flashed by electric current along the telegraph wire from one side of the world to the other. Paintings, drawings, photographs, and statues, all are more or less permanent in form and easily transported.

In connection with all these technical devices for preserving and transporting symbols, we find functional arrangements of persons and property into social organs, and we discover that a large, if not the larger, part of the work of transmission is accomplished by the transporting system already described (§ 97).

Post office
used in a wide
sense to in-
clude all means
for transmit-
ting messages

Among the functional arrangements — and including many of them — for the communication of symbols, the post office is so conspicuous, that it deserves special mention. We use the term “post office” to describe the entire system for transmitting messages, including the telegraph, which, in England, and in several continental countries, is an organic part of the postal service, and the telephone, which is rapidly assuming a national as well as a local structure.

All these agencies combine to form a network of communicating and transporting channels, which arrange themselves in coördination, first, about small nuclei, then connect

these subordinate centers with more important points, and these again with still greater centers, which are finally joined by main lines of communication. Such systems as these in each country are brought into structural relations by private and international arrangements, so that the post office actually offers a well-nigh universal service, and, in effect, connects every individual with every other in the vast area through which it ramifies.

Arrangement
about centers
of coördina-
tion

It is along these public thoroughfares of thought that the majority of formal social communications pass. This structure is used by the regulating systems of all groups, large and small, from the family to the state. It is solely a technical device for communicating symbols, and it effects no psychical influence or change in them.

If A in New York wishes to communicate an idea to B in Boston, there are several forms of technical aid at his service. 1. He may speak into a phonograph and send the wax cylinder by express (transporting system) to B, who, fitting it to his instrument, has the message repeated in his ear. 2. A may talk directly with B by long-distance telephone. 3. A may send a telegram to B. 4. A may write a letter and send it by the postal service, which relies upon the railway (transporting system). 5. A may have himself, with his idea, transported by train to Boston, where he may talk with B face to face. If the thought to be communicated is capable of graphic representation, a drawing or picture may be sent by post or express. It may be that a book would be of service, in which case it, too, could be forwarded, or referred to by page, B consulting another copy in a Boston library.

Illustrations

Possible
methods of
communica-
tion between A
in New York
and B in
Boston

It is very clear that the men and wealth combined in telephone and telegraph companies, the postal service, printing offices, public libraries, art studios, etc., constitute social organs which, internally interdependent, and, as a whole, dependent on society, perform certain specific functions in the making and transporting of symbols.

The structure of postal, telegraph, and telephone service is well known. Each small village is a center for the rural district which lies about it. In Great Britain, the mail carrier delivers letters and collects them at every house in the most remote part of the three kingdoms. Each village is tributary to the nearest large town; this, in turn, is sub-

Rural districts
tributary to
villages, vil-
lages to towns,
towns to
cities, etc.

ordinate to a neighboring city, which is on a trunk line of communication with other large centers.

Coördination of telephone service about exchanges

Clear as this is in connection with the postal service, it is still more obviously true of the telegraph and telephone. Any one who has had occasion to use a long-distance telephone from a private house in a small village to a large center, knows what it is to secure a connection, first through the local exchange, then through the central office of the nearest large town, and perhaps through a third center before the main line is brought into circuit. A map of telegraph or telephone lines shows at a glance this structure about centers. (See map on opposite page.)

The printing press as an increaser of psychical channels

The significance of the invention of the printing press is made conspicuous in our analysis when we remember that every book helps to form a channel of communication between author and reader. The rapid multiplication of volumes which are thereby made available to a correspondingly large number of readers, is, in the light of our dissection, an increase of communicating channels, or a higher nervous organization, in society. The dependence of the communicating on the transporting system is also significant in so far as the latter, created chiefly by economic requirements, is a condition of the efficiency and extension of the former; a relation often expressed in the phrase "trade paves the way for civilization."

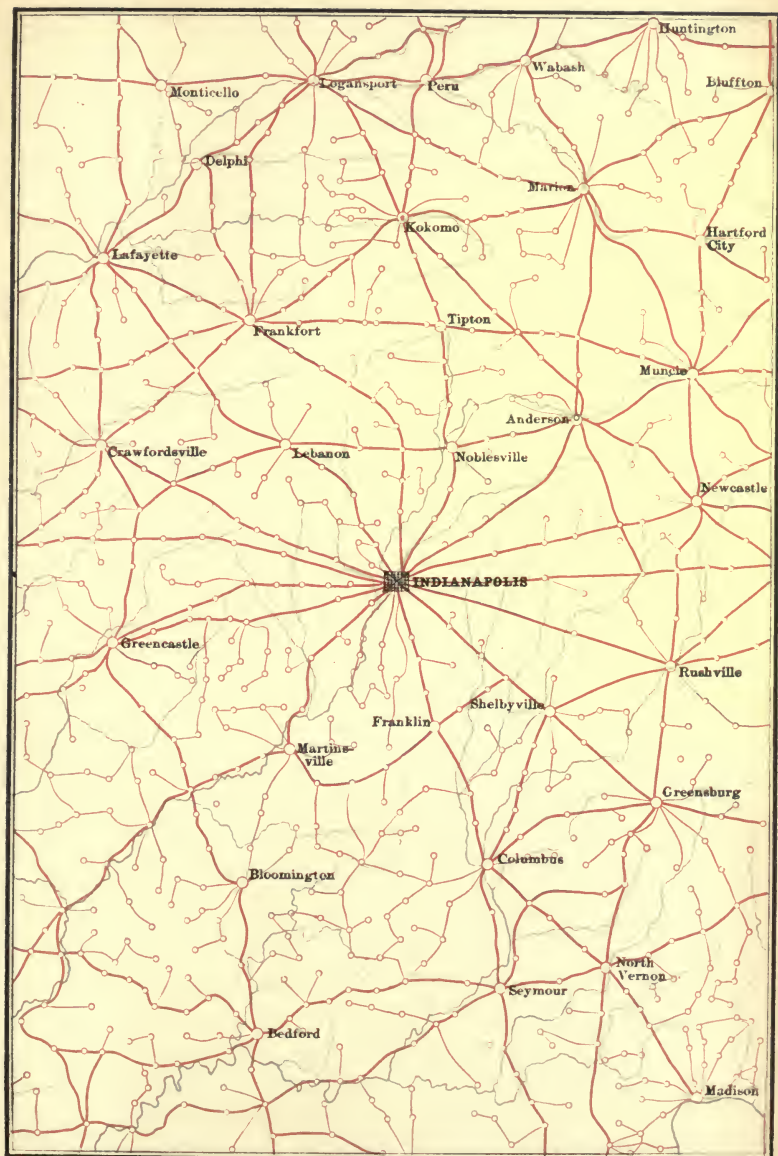
Arrangement and coördination of communicating channels

§ 105. Having examined the structure of social communicating channels, which consist of psychical, physical or symbolic, and technical elements, we must next inquire how these channels are arranged and coördinated into the psychophysical apparatus as a whole.

Again, we confront a bewilderingly complex structure which defies even the trained imagination to gain a clear and satisfactory conception of relations in their completeness.

The many communicating channels are combined into a great system

We return for a point of departure to the fact already stated (§§ 95, 98), that each social group has, in itself, a regulating system, which in turn, as we have seen, implies both a communicating apparatus and a coördination with reference to a center of impulse or authority. We discover, then, a primary arrangement of communicating channels about a



POSTAL ROUTES ARRANGED ABOUT INDIANAPOLIS AS A CENTER.

source of psychical influence. Again, we find these primary centers sustaining relations of subordination and correlation to still higher centers, and so on, until a whole system of communication appears in a structure to a greater or less degree orderly and traceable.

This general system is made up of several broadly distinguishable parts, of which the more important are: (1) *the press*, (2) *the commercial system*, (3) *public address*, (4) *the educational system*, (5) *the ecclesiastical system*, (6) *the governmental system*. Again we must warn the student against being misled by a classification such as that just outlined. Each of these parts is inseparably interwoven with one or more of the others. The first especially, the press, is incorporated in nearly every division of the psycho-physical communicating apparatus, and is almost as general in its scope as the post office itself. Moreover, other departments, such as the church, commerce, and the government, are only in one aspect communicating structures, and must, therefore, be thought of as sustaining other relations which belong to different parts of our discussion.

The parts of
the system

are not dis-
tinct, but are
inseparably
interwoven

The children of a family, as terminal and communicating cells, form a psycho-physical apparatus between themselves and about the parents as a center. The heads of families again, in the various communicating channels of which they are parts, assume relations of subordination to ministers, employers, lecturers, politicians. These latter, in the communications which they transmit, are largely dependent upon other authorities,—specialists, great writers, statesmen, etc. George William Curtis, in "The Easy Chair," said of Emerson: "He was never exactly popular (as a lecturer), but always gave a tone and flavor to the whole lyceum course. . . . 'We can have him once in three or four seasons,' said the committees. But really they had him all the time without knowing it. He was the philosopher Proteus, and he spoke through all the more popular mouths. The speakers were acceptable because they were liberal, and he was the great liberalizer. They were, and they are, the middlemen between him and the public. They watered the nectar and made it easy to drink."

Illustrations

The family
system

Curtis on
Emerson

The structure of the press

§ 106. We use the general term, *the press*, to describe all the arrangements of communicating channels for the collection of ideas, the embodiment of them in printed symbols, and the distribution of the latter throughout social groups of greater or less magnitude. Whether such arrangements are examined in a small village, in a large city, or in a whole nation, they display essentially the same principles of structure.

Principle of structure alike in village and city

Arrangement about a center

We discover a convergence of psycho-physical channels toward a center, where there are devices for making symbols, which are distributed by various means of transportation among larger or smaller numbers of individuals. This primary system of arrangement is equally true of newspaper offices, and magazine and book-publishing houses, but in the higher forms of organization the news-gathering channels of the daily and weekly papers assume a far more complex structure.

General newspapers

Directing our attention to newspapers, it is necessary to distinguish broadly between (1) *general* and (2) *group* papers. In the case of the former, the structure of communicating channels is more obvious. As we advance from the small centers or offices, we find these connected with larger and more important sources of information, which, in turn, are, either directly or through other centers, in contact with main points where communications are received and distributed. The structure thus outlined is seen to be identical, and, for the most part, coincident, with that of the post office, which, in the broad meaning we have given to the term, is a condition of the efficient organization of news collection, as well as of the distribution of the printed symbols.

Channels of communication

Press associations

National and international agencies exist for the sole purpose of gathering from correspondents, by telegraph, the news of the world and distributing it in the same way among the chief papers of a whole country. From these

important journals, the lesser papers copy items of interest, and so the more striking news passes on into the smallest sheets.

Syndicates of papers are also formed to which a central agency furnishes, for simultaneous publication, special articles, descriptions of travel, novels, short stories, humorous sketches, and sermons. Syndicates

Press associations in the principal cities make stereotyped plates of news items, editorial notes, and "literary matter," which they send, by express, to minor daily and weekly papers in the tributary territory. Still other companies print one "side" of a newspaper, and send out the sheets to be completed with local matter and advertisements in small provincial offices. Plate makers

So, too, the placing of advertisements — communications from sellers to customers — in both newspapers and periodicals, is largely effected through special firms, many of which are completely organized, with head officers, subordinate agencies, and traveling representatives. The placing of advertisements

Group journals, as distinguished from general newspapers, are primarily, and often exclusively, devoted to the interests of special social aggregates, rather than of society as a whole. The structures into which the communicating channels are arranged in group papers are identical in principle with those of the general press, but organization is not carried to the same height and complexity. Group papers

Establishments which issue magazines, reviews, and books serve to put writers in communication with the public. As has been said, there is little or no coördination of these writers among themselves, but from each might be traced back lines of psychical influence through many centers or authorities. The difference in the permanent influence of these forms of printed symbols should be pointed out. The newspaper lives for a day or week, the magazine or review, Magazines and books

in the majority of cases, for a month or two, the book ordinarily endures for many years.

Again, the press multiplies copies of works which have become classics in literature, philosophy, and art, and thus the psychical forces of past ages are exerted directly on the present.

News agents

For the distribution of the symbols issued by the press, we find a more or less organized system of wholesalers, retailers, agents, and carriers, which depends for its efficiency upon the post office and the transporting system.

Illustrations

The city editor of a Pittsburg daily, with his *corps* of reporters assigned to duty at all points where anything of interest can be counted upon or reasonably expected, is the center of as many communicating channels as there are men in his service. He receives their reports, "cuts" or modifies them to suit his purpose, and sends them to the composing room, whence they find their way into print. Thus local affairs are "covered."

In a news- paper office

Telegraphic press service

The telegraph editor is the connecting link between the paper and the outside world. He reads the messages sent from the head office of the general press association, and selects such matter as he deems desirable. The general manager of this press service, sitting in his office in New York or Chicago, receives reports from his special correspondents in all parts of the country. • These he sifts, and then transmits to several central distributing points, whence they are telegraphed to the various papers in the association. Now and then, a cable message arrives from an international agency in London or Paris, where news from all over the world is being collected and distributed to meet the demands of different countries. Thus the report of an anarchist outrage in Seville finds a ready channel via Madrid, Paris, London, and New York or Chicago to any American city or large town.

Foreign news

Group papers include trade journals, denominational weeklies, the periodicals of learned societies, teachers' journals, etc.

The news companies, which sell publications of all kinds in stations and hotels, and on trains, local newsdealers, and booksellers combine to form a special system for distributing the products of the press.

§ 107. In the sustaining and transporting systems (§§ 96, 97), *i.e.* in the economic organization of society, we discover a complex arrangement of communicating channels which transmit the manifold psychical impulses by which production, transportation, and exchange of wealth are coördinated. Here, again, we find the same structure about primary and subordinate nuclei, which, in turn, are in similar relations to a series of increasingly important centers. The post office and the press supply essential parts of nearly all these channels, which are arranged in many forms. Of these, the more important are:—

Mercantile
communicat-
ing structure

(1) *Commercial Correspondence*, the system of channels which connects small retailers with lesser wholesalers, the latter with great dealers, these, in turn, with importers and manufacturers, who communicate with producers of raw material. These are in contact with a series of others, producers, employees, etc. From a vast number of relatively primary sources, impulses are transmitted through one center after another, from small to great, and thence by a reverse process from great to small.

Commercial
correspond-
ence

(2) *Stock and Produce Exchanges*, where, whatever else may be done, reports from productive industries are gathered, prices in some measure based on such data are made and thence published through the press. The smaller exchanges are dependent upon the large centers, which, in turn, look to the great emporia of the world.

Stock
and produce
exchanges

(3) *Commercial Agencies*, completely organized apparatus for collecting information as to the commercial standing of dealers in every branch of trade, new enterprises, proposed buildings, etc., and for communicating such facts to patrons interested in knowing how far credits can be extended with safety, or just where their wares are likely to be in demand. These concerns also gather reports of

Commercial
agencies

crops and railway earnings, and take part with the exchange in helping to determine prices.

The banking
system

(4) *The Banking System*, a highly complex structure of channels, which, as one of its functions, transmits checks and drafts ("instruments of credit"), and thereby effects readjustments of credit to conform to the transfer of commodities. The "clearing house" is structurally a center about which local banks arrange themselves. By a system of alliances, banks form regular connections, which extend from chief cities to towns and cities in the tributary districts. The larger points are in communication with the chief commercial center of the nation, which, in turn, is in contact with the great marts of the world.

Such, in broadest outline, is the economic communicating apparatus which must be conceived as ramifying into every industrial group, and bringing into more or less efficient contact and coördination all the psycho-physical channels of the sustaining and transporting systems.

Illustrations

Orders
through retail-
ers and sub-
ordinate
wholesalers to
chief metro-
politan house

We may conceive the following process as taking place, although, as a matter of fact, the procedure is not by any means so systematic. A large shoe manufacturer in New England solicits an order from a New York wholesaler. The latter asks his wholesale customers in Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Paul, Minneapolis, etc., what orders he may expect. These dealers, in turn, write to their retail customers in the surrounding districts to inquire how many shoes they will need. The small merchants thereupon examine the local situation, come to some conclusion, and report. These opinions are compared and summarized at the subcenters, which transmit the general result to the main house in New York. Upon the basis of these returns, the New York merchant gives a certain order to the manufacturer, who thereupon communicates with leather merchants and others with whom he deals. With many modifications of arrangement, but not of principle, such systems of communications ramify throughout the commercial world.

Commercial
travelers

The plan of sending out commercial travelers, and, in some measure, doing away with the services of middlemen, should be recognized

as reconstructing, although not essentially changing the nature of these commercial communicating channels.

On the floor of the stock and produce exchanges meet men who have various means, private and public, of learning how much a certain railway is earning, or what the supplies of wheat in the United States, Canada, and India are likely to be. This information is gathered and supplied by the press, by correspondence, or by commercial agencies. Relying upon these facts, and drawing conclusions from them, these dealers buy and sell, thereby establishing for the railway stock or the wheat, prices which are announced immediately by "tickers" and private messages. Later they are published in the general press, and exert a widespread influence. Wholly aside from the opportunities which these exchanges afford for speculation, they serve to regulate, in a more or less rational way, the movements of the industrial system.

The stock exchange as a center in a communicating system

If A, a wholesaler in New York, receives an order for goods from B, a retail dealer in Salem, Ohio, unknown to him, he turns to the book or bulletin furnished by a commercial agency, and finds B rated according to his capital, personal resources, business methods, and promptness of payment.

Report on commercial standing

If a city council votes to erect a school building, various "new enterprise companies" and newspaper-clipping agencies immediately communicate the fact to such of their patrons as have building materials for sale.

New enterprises

Again, let us follow a check given by a New Yorker to a hotel in Joliet, Illinois. It is deposited in a local bank, which sends it to a Chicago bank, whence it goes to a New York bank. It is then presented at the New York Clearing House, where it is paid by the bank on which it is drawn, the amount being set down on the debit side of the depositor's account.

The journey of a check

§ 108. A public speaker may be regarded as the center of as many different psycho-physical channels as he has hearers. This relation of speaker and audience, although it exists prominently in school and church, is found in certain other forms of structure, to which it gives general character. The lyceum system of popular lectures is organized with considerable completeness, especially in the United States. It is difficult to trace the coördination about centers, although the influence of prominent men is exerted upon successive

The structure of speaker and audience

Lyceum lectures

groups of popular speakers, and through them upon a large number of listeners.

Political
meetings

Political meetings display this structure of communicating channels, and here the psychical impulses are more systematically ordered. The theater in a large measure presents the relation of speaker and audience, and is an effective means of transmitting ideas. The habit into which people fall, of attending these public exercises, tends to form a more or less permanent arrangement of psycho-physical channels, by means of which influences are brought to bear upon a very large number of persons.

Illustrations

The lecturer
and the re-
former

The traveler, as a lecturer, puts his hearers in direct communication with the lands he has visited. The popularly scientific speaker mediates ideas which have been communicated to him from various authorities. The reformer urges upon his audience principles which he has very possibly acquired as an auditor or reader of some greater man.

The political
orator

The political orator communicates thoughts, or, at least, emotional stimuli, which have been transmitted rather definitely from the leaders of his party.

The theater

The power of the theater was recognized by those Kansas Populists who proposed recently, as a campaign measure, to have plays written which should depict the wrongs of the common people, and to send out companies to present these dramas in all parts of the state.

The educa-
tional com-
municating
structure

§ 109. One of the most important arrangements of psycho-physical channels in society is that presented by the educational system, as it is found in the more advanced modern nations. The school, college, and university have two different, yet inseparable, functions, or rather one function, with two different aspects: (1) *the increase and* (2) *the communication of knowledge*. It is with the second division that our present analysis of structure is chiefly concerned. By means of all the channels which we have examined, including the press, and the relation of speaker and audience, a structure is formed, which exhibits the

same progressive arrangement about centers that has become so familiar to us. By this apparatus, impressions received from a multitude of individuals, or end organs, are communicated to higher and higher centers, to be thence distributed through a similar system, but in the reverse order, to a vast number of individuals.

Progressive arrangement of channels about centers for the collection and distribution of knowledge

It should be kept in mind by the student that, while, as an abstract statement, this description is in harmony with the facts, the structure is far from being so systematically coördinated as one might infer. The general principle of arrangement holds true, although, in special cases, it may be obscured by surface phenomena.

A university chemist in Germany discovers another chemical element. What means exist for communicating that fact to a high-school pupil in an American town? Let us trace one of several possible channels. The discoverer writes a paper for the learned society in Berlin, of which he is a member, and this is published in the volume or quarterly journal which records the proceedings of that body. The book is sent regularly to an American chemist in one of the leading universities. After making corroborating tests, this scientist presents a paper on the subject to the chemical society to which he belongs. A college professor of chemistry, who hears the discussion, returns to his classes and reports the discovery. One of his pupils, becoming a normal-school instructor, communicates a knowledge of this additional element to those under his charge, one of whom, securing the position of high-school teacher, gives the fact to the pupil in question. We may imagine this process of transmission as occupying only two or three years, during which time no new or revised edition of a school text-book on chemistry was published. It is clear that in some cases the channel might be less indirect; in others, even more circuitous. The illustration is typical, however, in so far as it shows the process of gathering, organizing, and diffusing knowledge in any department of science.

Illustrations

Transmission of a discovery from a German chemist to an American schoolboy

§ 110. The ecclesiastical communicating system might be distributed between those of education and public address, yet even if there be no distinctive character-

The ecclesiastical communicating structure

istic in the ecclesiastical communicating structure, it is sufficiently important to deserve separate mention. Regarded, however, solely from the religious standpoint, the church presents an arrangement of channels which communicate peculiar psychical impulses. In this arrangement we discover the usual coördination about centers, ministers, and priests, who, in turn, are subordinate to religious bodies or bishops; they again being dependent upon general conventions, assemblies, conclaves, etc.

While the church, as a general term, describes broadly a whole communicating system, it is necessary in more detailed analysis to point out the fact that this is divided into many quite distinct or only slightly connected parts, denominations, or sects. The communicating relations vary from almost complete isolation to partial conjunction.

Illustrations
The Roman
Catholic
Church

The Roman Catholic Church presents in its hierarchy a conspicuous example of an organized communicating system. The official utterances of the Pope may be transmitted through cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests, to the great body of members with almost the methodical exactness of a physical mechanism.

**Protestant
churches**

Protestant churches, even those which preserve the Episcopacy, show comparatively little of this coördination, although it can be traced. The action of a Presbyterian General Assembly, or of a Methodist General Conference, is communicated through ministers, in some degree, yet to a greater extent through the denominational press to individual church members.

Psychical contact between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant churches is very slight if, indeed, it takes place at all. On the other hand, through the Evangelical Alliance, the Y. M. C. A., and Y. P. S. C. E., regular channels of communication between Protestant churches in the United States have been established.

**The gov-
ernmental
communicat-
ing apparatus**

§ 111. In an organized government, we have the clearest and most complete example of a social communicating structure. The existence of a single chief center about which the whole system is coördinated, renders comprehension of rela-

tions comparatively easy. Those who are prone to press biological analogies claim to find in the governmental organization, channels which exactly correspond to sensory and motor nerves. However that may be, we do discover, especially in the executive branch of government, a very complete arrangement of channels for communicating impulses from every part of the state or municipality to the seat of authority, and for transmitting other impulses from that center to any point in the political group. The principle of arrangement about subordinate and correlated centers is embodied conspicuously in the governmental system.

A close
biological
analogy

The general communicating structure of a government is naturally divisible into parts which correspond to the usual distribution of powers among the legislative, judicial, and executive branches. In each division, we find an orderly arrangement of channels for transmitting psychical impulses. The executive psycho-physical apparatus is further divided into departments of war, finance, foreign relations, agriculture, etc. In each, we find large numbers of officials in indirect or immediate communication with the department chief, who both receives information from all these end organs and issues directions to them. The essential principle of structure is equally true of a city and of a national government, although there is a difference in degree of complexity.

Executive
department of
government
exhibits the
height of
coördination

It is hardly necessary to give examples of structure so familiar. The method of communication described in § 98 is a case in point.

Illustrations

The police organization of a metropolis, especially in continental Europe, offers an admirable illustration of a completely coördinated communicating apparatus. A crime has been committed. A more or less specific description of the perpetrator is telegraphed from the central bureau to every police station, where it is read to all officers as they leave for their beats. In a few hours every patrolman in the city is on the lookout for the criminal.

Continental
police

Again, in Berlin, every householder and hotel proprietor is required to report to the police, within twelve hours, the arrival of all guests,

The Berlin
system of
surveillance

sending their passports or satisfactory details of different kinds. These returns are recorded at substations, and then transmitted to the central bureau, where lists, constantly revised, are at the service of the administration. The value of these data for watching "suspects," finding lost persons, delivering imperfectly addressed letters, etc., is obvious.

Summary

Communicating channels made up (1) of the nervous systems and psychical activities of individuals — who appear as both communicating and terminal cells — (2) of physical symbols, and (3) of technical means for preserving and transmitting them; arrange themselves into coördinated systems, chief among which are: (1) *the press*, (2) *the commercial*, (3) *forensic address*, (4) *the educational*, (5) *the ecclesiastical*, (6) *the governmental*.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The significance of education as the perfecting of "end organs."
2. The relation of education to accuracy of social communications.
3. The channels through which minister, merchant, lawyer, or doctor introduces information into a town.
4. The channels of communication through which individuals of one political party get ideas of the opinions of another national party.
5. The influence of bad roads on social communications.
6. The differences in habit and custom which have followed the addition of the telephone to the communicating system of a given town.
7. The organization of a paper in the student's own town and its relation to the national news-gathering system.
8. The means by which the influence of financial stringency is communicated through the banking system.
9. A chart and explanation of the channels through which psychical impulses come to a given institution (college).
10. A chart and explanation of the channels through which psychical impulses go from the same institution (college).
11. A chart and explanation of the channels through which the writer has received his political opinions.
12. A chart and explanation of the channels of communication through which the writer has received the psychical impulses that have determined his choice or preference of occupation for life.

BOOK IV

SOCIAL PHYSIOLOGY AND PATHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF SOCIETY IN GENERAL: THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

§ 112. In Book III. we examined in detail the structures into which individuals and property are arranged in society. This general survey included many allusions to activities considered as functions, with which aspect of the phenomena this fourth division of our volume is to deal.

Social activities have their source in the desires of individuals

The sources of movement in society are to be discovered in the desires which have been pointed out (§ 76), as characteristic of all individuals. These demands for satisfactions, almost infinite in number and degree, give rise to activities which, as a whole, constitute what may be termed the vital processes of society. It is our present task to inquire what the nature of social organic life is, what classes of activities are discernible, and by what agencies these functions are being performed.

§ 113. While the social body is not to be regarded as a biological organism, it does preserve a coherence of parts and a persistence of procedures (§ 39). Individual atoms constantly perish, and family groups or molecules disintegrate, but other individuals and families take the vacant places, and the social structure continues its uninterrupted existence. Inasmuch as this persistent structure is maintained by psychical and not by physical forces, it is really the outward expression of a community of thought, belief,

Society exhibits life

Social structures are maintained by psychical forces

and technical activity, which constitutes the higher individuality of society. It is this common stock of ideas representing the accumulated experience of many generations which acts by and through individuals and groups, influencing structures and functions, and constituting that super-organic and super-psychological life which alone can be predicated of society as its peculiar vitality (§ 40).

Illustrations

Personnel of a society changes, but structures and activities persist

The popular, if not wholly accurate, belief that the materials of the human body undergo such constant change that within seven years from any given time the whole organism will be renewed, illustrates, by analogy, the changes which death and birth of individuals work in society. Every seventy-five years the *personnel* of a city, state, or nation undergoes almost complete renewal, yet the structure and individuality of the group persists, although modified in many ways.

The Senate of the United States

The Senate of the United States, regarded as a group, may be truly said to have in its traditions, precedents, and spirit, an existence above, and, in a sense, independent of its membership, which is constantly changing. The community of thoughts and ideals possessed by this body reacts upon its individual members, holding them in certain relations, and, in a measure, determining their conduct.

The life of a college

A college is an admirable example of a living society. In final analysis, not buildings, laboratories, and libraries, but professors, students, accumulations of knowledge, and an *esprit de corps* really make a college. Every four years the *personnel* of the students is changed, but the undergraduate body, in classes and groups, with its traditions and ideals, lives perennially.

Society gives evidence of growth

§ 114. Society not only maintains its form and carries on its activities under the influence of a community of psychical forces, but it exhibits constant modifications in structure and function to correspond with changes in the body of knowledge and ideals which constitute its peculiar life. These incessant readjustments of psychical forces as expressed in institutions and activities, give rise to phenomena of growth (§ 40). Society never reaches a state of stable equilibrium. Changes in thought and feeling produce modifications of

functions, which, in turn, influence structure. On the other hand, structures tend to resist change and to give activities a permanent character. The term "social growth" or "evolution" may be appropriately applied to this unceasing change in ideals and arrangements, which is more popularly described as progress.

The nature of progress

To study this growth of society, to discover laws of development, and to bring psychical forces to bear so that they may direct and hasten the movement toward a higher plane of collective and individual life, is the task of the scientific social reformer.

The task of the scientific social reformer

While, for the sake of clearness, in a preliminary description of society at a given stage of its growth, we treat structures and functions in a measure separately, the student must not lose sight of the fact that the two are constantly effecting reciprocal modifications.

The development of the English Constitution furnishes an excellent illustration of social growth as registered in forms of government. At any given period, a certain body of traditional and statute laws represents, in general, the common thought and ideals of the people, a few of whom hold positive opinions in which the rest acquiesce. There are, it is true, many disagreements about details of policy, and even about more fundamental things, but in a broad view, one general theory of government prevails. For example, at one time, it is generally conceded that a limited number of citizens of certain intelligence, wealth, and position, should alone take part in government. Electoral laws and other arrangements are made in accordance with this conception. But gradually, with industrial and commercial development, the growth of great towns, ease of communication, stimulus of social contact, public education, and the rise of the press, intelligence is more and more diffused. The function of learning and thinking about governmental policies is no longer confined to the few; it becomes an activity of the many. Little by little the truth is forced upon public attention, until it becomes accepted as a more or less common belief. Slowly laws are so repealed or amended, as to permit the performance of this enlarged and modified function. Structure tending all the while to resist change is, nevertheless, gradually modified.

Illustrations

The development of the English Constitution an example of social growth

The House of Lords is declared by many Englishmen to be an anomaly, and persistent efforts to change that structure may be expected.

"Conservatism" and
"radicalism"

This view of progress or social growth gives added significance to the terms "conservative" and "radical." The former is a defender of existing structure, the latter ever seeks to change present institutions in the interest of new or modified functions. The survival of often meaningless customs, or ways of doing things, throws light upon the persistence of structural arrangements.

Social functions in
general

§ 115. As a result of individual desires, regulated by the common body of psychical force which society possesses, certain general activities or functions, essential to the maintenance of individual existence, and to the preservation and progress of social life, are constantly carried on in a bewildering multiplicity of forms. It is within the scope of this manual to make only a general classification, under which subdivision might be continued almost indefinitely.

Only a general
classification
attempted

One function, which has both a biological and a social aspect, is so peculiarly fundamental that we give to it the first place in our category. The propagation of the human species is, in one sense, a phenomenon of Physiology, but in another, it is a social phenomenon of supreme importance.

Propagation
has both
biological and
social aspects

Prefixing this function, therefore, and amplifying somewhat the division of Spencer, which we have already adopted in a modified form, we offer the following:—

CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

Social
functions
classified

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (a) <i>Propagation</i> | } | <i>The
Sustaining
System</i> |
| (b) <i>Location or Settlement</i> | | |
| (c) <i>Defense against Nature, Animate and Inanimate</i> | | |
| (d) <i>Production of Wealth</i> | | |
| (e) <i>Transportation¹ (and Exchange)</i> | } | <i>The
Transporting
System</i> |
| (f) <i>Apportionment of Wealth</i> | | |
| (g) <i>Transmission of Wealth (Inheritance)</i> | | |

¹ In making transportation coördinate with production, of which in economic theory it forms a part, we have consciously suggested a different division of activities.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (h) <i>Discovery, Invention, Technical Applications</i> | } <i>The
Regulating
System</i> |
| (i) <i>Communication of Psychological Impulses</i> | |
| (j) <i>Intellectual Training (Transmission of Knowledge)</i> | |
| (k) <i>Discipline (Ethical and Social Training)</i> | |
| (l) <i>Control (Coördination of Activities)</i> | |

§ 116. We find that the functions enumerated above are performed in varying circumstances by different social agencies. Again, the functions themselves appear in different societies in widely varying proportions, according to the character or degree of development of the groups.

The functional many-sidedness of the primary social combination, the family, is of great significance. In comparative isolation, when a measure of self-sufficiency is unavoidable, the family performs, in a more or less rudimentary way, all primary social functions, which, as differentiation and integration advance, are gradually shared with special social organs, or almost entirely surrendered to them. In other words, the family displays in *microcosm* all the activities of the village, city, or nation. This is not to be construed into an assertion that the nation is merely a larger structure of the family type, or that modern government corresponds to parental authority. Nor is the student to infer that the functions performed by the family in a state of approximate isolation are all of a definitely developed form. Most of them are comparatively primitive, while many are potential rather than actually exercised.

The distribution of functions among social agencies

The family is society in microcosm

One chief purpose of Book II. is to illustrate this distribution of functions at different stages of social organization. The student will readily recall the way in which the activities of the settlers' families were little by little handed over to special organs, such as the school, the church, the store, the stagecoach, etc. See chart following page 250.

Illustrations

We are confident that there will be no confusion of ideas since the student will not regard this discussion as technically economic.

Propagation
the peculiar
family
function

§ 117. In conditions generally recognized as normal, propagation is exclusively a function of the family, which therefore serves as a connecting link between physical life and that of the social organism. It is the peculiar service of the family to produce the new individuals who take the places of those that perish. Thus the elements of society are constantly renewed and social existence is perpetuated. The biological laws which govern this function of propagation are, as we have already seen, of great structural importance. The complete dependence of children upon parents during a long period of infancy necessitates a corresponding permanence of the family relation and gives rise to new psychical bonds, which reënforce the original tie between husband and wife. In normal circumstances, the family thus gains coherence from the performance of its peculiar function, which, in turn, renders necessary many other activities.

Biological laws
of propagation
of great struc-
tural signifi-
cance

Heredity

The question as to how far, if at all, the physical and psychical characteristics of parents are transmitted to their offspring is manifestly of the greatest interest to the sociologist, who must, however, await the results which it is to be hoped the present active investigation and discussion of the subject by biologists, will produce.

Location or
settlement a
family
function

§ 118. In order that a society may attain a high degree of organization and stability, it is necessary that its individual members should be brought into orderly relations with the land. This service is rendered by the family, which has for one of its chief aims the establishment and maintenance of a permanent abode, under such conditions as afford sufficient area for the successful accomplishment of domestic tasks, and opportunities for normal family life. One has only to study the life of a nomadic people, to read, for example, even the meager records and myths of the great Wandering of the Nations in Europe, to realize how essential the function

The family
serves to hold
society in per-
manent rela-
tions with the
land

of location or settlement is to progressive social development.

Families in the aggregate, therefore, serve in one aspect to keep population, as a whole, in definite connection with the soil.

The prevailing system of private property in land has gradually established itself largely as a result of this function of settlement which demands both definiteness of area and permanency of tenure. Whether social growth will modify this structure and attain the same end in a different way, is a question frequently raised, but it is not properly included within the scope of our discussion.

Private property in land as related to the function of location

The first thought of a newly formed family is of a home, a fixed place of abode. Whether a house be actually purchased, or only rented, or whether rooms or an apartment be arranged for, the family assumes definite relations with the land (§ 87).

Illustrations

§ 119. It is a law of nature that animal life survives only as a result of vigilance and effort. Existence is constantly menaced by dangers of many kinds. Man is no exception to the rule. The forces of animate and inanimate nature are ever opposing themselves to his welfare. It was by this struggle against adverse conditions, the biologists tell us, that human forms were developed. From earliest times, defense has been an all-important function of the individual, and because of the relation which individuals sustain to collective life, this same activity has been more and more exercised by society, and is especially characteristic of the family.

Shelter and defense a family function

The struggle with environment has been carried on for ages

This function of defense includes broadly (1) shelter and protection against external nature, (2) prevention and cure of disease, (3) defense against animals and unsocial individuals.

Every family seeks to shelter its members from the weather, to provide them with clothing, to maintain an artificial temperature when

Illustrations

necessary, to guard against possible dangers from fire and flood, to obtain abundant air and sunshine—in all these ways to prevent disease, to effect a cure of such maladies as do appear, in primitive conditions, to drive away or destroy beasts of prey, and in all societies to exclude from the domicile, marauders, burglars, and all others who threaten life or property.

Production of
wealth as a
family
function

In spite of the
complexity of
social struc-
ture, the family
carries on a
measure of
production

§ 120. The relation of the family to the production of wealth varies with different stages of social organization. In contemporary society, to which we are confining our examination, differentiation and interdependence have advanced so far that a wholly self-sufficient family is well-nigh inconceivable. Although production in general has been largely surrendered to special social agencies, yet each family, as such, carries on some measure of domestic production. The transformation of raw supplies into edible food is a conspicuous productive function which is still performed by the family. Various minor domestic activities of the same order are also carried on. The fact that vast numbers of families are concerned in the production of wealth, and thereby retain their appropriate places in the whole social organism, should not mislead the student as to the extent of domestic production, as such, which is limited to the function actually performed within the family group.

Illustrations

Every family kitchen is a factory for turning raw flesh, vegetables, cereals, etc., into roasted and boiled meats, bread, and the like. Almost every domicile is, in some measure, a domestic dressmaking and tailoring establishment. The degree to which domestic production is practiced depends largely upon the stage of organization of the community to which the family belongs, and upon the economic status of the family itself.

Families connected with farming, mining, and manufacturing industries are, in a sense, engaged in production, yet such participation is essentially different from the production in which the family, as such, engages. This subject is alluded to in discussing the relation of the family to capital (§ 89).

§ 121. Each family, by virtue either of some service rendered to society or of some conventional economic arrangement, receives, through the channels of transportation and exchange, a certain volume of wealth measured and generally represented by money. The distribution or apportionment of this wealth among members of the household is an important family function. Schäffle likens this service to the work of the capillaries in an animal organism, which at the extremities of the arterial system distribute the materials of the vitalized blood throughout the tissues of the body.

The family functions of apportionment and transmission of wealth

The family likened to the capillaries in an animal organism

It is a function of the family, therefore, to supply means of physical sustenance to its members until such time as children are mature enough to assume independent economic relations with society, or to become dependent members of other families.

In what are recognized as normal conditions, the family income is received in return for the social service of its head, the husband, through whom wife and children obtain their shares. Thus the family has an essential work to do in apportioning the aggregate wealth of society among its individual members. Again, as we have seen (§ 89), the family not only distributes wealth, but it also accumulates property of different kinds in the form of capital. By far the greater part of capital in society is private as distinguished from public, *i.e.* is owned, through the device of property, by families and individuals, rather than by society as incorporated in nations, states, and municipalities.

In normal circumstances wealth is received through the head of the family

It is manifestly essential to individual and social progress that these accumulations should be handed on, in a definite and orderly way, from one generation to the next. This important function of transmission, by means of gift, bequest, and inheritance, is chiefly performed by the family, which bestows upon children the wealth that has been inherited or accumulated by the parents.

Wealth is transmitted from generation to generation

Illustrations

The income of every family is, in part, divided in the form of food, clothes, money, etc., among its members. Sons and daughters receive their entire support through the family until they enter employments and professions by which they secure independent incomes. Daughters who marry thereby help to form other family groups through which they receive shares of wealth.

Family capital
and its division

Another part of the family income is invested in life insurance, lands, bonds, means of production, or other devices of prudence. These accumulations of family capital are sometimes partially distributed, as, for example, when a son is set up in business or a daughter receives a marriage portion during the lives of the parents, but always at their death, other things being equal, the bulk of the property passes into the hands of the next generation.

Communica-
tion of
psychical
impulses as
a family
function

§ 122. The development of society depends upon a free, rapid, and accurate communication of psychical impulses throughout the organism. The family group aids in this function in a way vaguely analogous to its distribution of material wealth. Ideas do not enter the family circle, however, through only one parent or both, but are introduced by every member and communicated to all who are mature enough to comprehend. The family gatherings at table and elsewhere afford a structure through which this function is efficiently performed.

Illustrations

Impulses
communicated
at a family
dinner table

At a family dinner, the father tells of a blind beggar he has passed on the street, and emphasizes the duty of sympathy and consideration for such unfortunates; the mother, who has been attending an art exhibition, mentions different pictures, and urges husband and children to see them; a daughter describes a luncheon party from which she has just returned, and suggests for adoption at home certain innovations in arrangements, decorations, or service; a schoolboy reports remarks of his teacher on the subject of civic duty, and asks his father sundry questions about primaries, parties, and voting, which bring to light certain parental shortcomings. So each member of the family group contributes something, which gives either information or stimulus to the others, and these impulses are again, in some measure, distributed among the individuals with whom father, mother, and children come in contact.

§ 123. It is quite as essential to social life and progress that accumulations of knowledge should be transmitted from one generation to another as that material wealth should be so handed down. The systematic teaching of the young has become so largely a social activity in contemporary society that the family function in this regard is virtually limited to the early period of children's lives, and even this much of instruction is being gradually surrendered to the kindergarten.

Relation of the family to intellectual and æsthetic training

It is true that in many cases parents helpfully supplement the work of the schools; and, as we shall soon observe, the family performs an all-important educational function, if education be used in its widest sense, but on the whole, the average family, as such, does not direct specifically the intellectual development of its young members—a service which is performed by the kindergarten, the school, the academy, the college, and the university.

The specifically educational function of the family is at the minimum

The development of æsthetic capacities in children is a task which the family shares with social organs. Home decoration, music, and art are important factors which co-operate with other agencies in cultivating an appreciation of the beautiful.

§ 124. In order that society may preserve its efficiency, and advance to higher types of organization, it is necessary that the individuals composing it should possess and exercise certain capacities for subordination, coöperation, self-control, and altruism. Man may always have been a gregarious animal, but it has required ages of struggle and stress, of hard discipline and cruel suffering, of groping blindly toward lofty ideals, to make him a social person. It is manifestly of vital importance that the experiences of the race represented in the common wisdom of any generation should guide the training of the next. Only in this

The socializing function of the family

The conditions
of social
progress

way can retrogression be avoided, and only through constantly improved discipline is progress insured.

Next to propagation itself, to fit the young for truly social life in its broadest aspects is the chief function of the family. Howsoever this activity may be shared with other institutions, in final analysis the responsibility of preparing children to take part effectively and harmoniously in the life of society rests upon the family.

The family a
school of
discipline

The structure of the family (Bk. III., Chap. II.) held together by a common bond of affection, with relations of authority and docility between parents and children, and of virtual equality among the latter, affords admirable means for the exercise of this function. The organized household with its system of government and its domestic economy forms a miniature society, a school of discipline. Parental affection supplies care, patience, and loving persistence by which alone the best results can be secured. Children are trained to prompt instinctive habits which are often more useful than reasoned conduct; they learn to practice subordination and obedience, which are so necessary in social tasks of coöperation; in their relations with brothers, sisters, and parents, they are taught principles of justice, and sentiments of courtesy and kindness, which make true social life possible; they are specially trained, usually with the aid of schools and other institutions, to perform certain of the tasks which society imposes upon its members, and thus are prepared to take their places in the social organism.

in which
courtesy, kind-
ness, and
instinctively
appropriate
conduct are
taught

When the family through precept and practice enforces wholesome religious discipline, the supernatural sanctions and inspirations for right conduct, which are drawn from religion, become most powerful factors in social progress.

In these somewhat definite ways, and in many others far more subtle, the family fits its young members to be normal social elements.

Correctness in speech, the many outward expressions of courtesy, pleasant phrases, bowing, handshaking, and other ceremonies and amenities, passing to the right on the street, etc., become instinctive when they are insisted upon in early life. Many a person suffers constant embarrassment from inability to atone for lack of such discipline.

Illustrations

The young person trained at home to yield intelligent and careful obedience to authority will, other things being equal, succeed in any social organ, either as a subordinate, or later, perhaps, in a position of authority, for he commands best who himself knows how to obey.

Subordination

The rights of property upon which all present social organization depends are taught in the family, where each child has certain things peculiar to himself; the spirit and practice of altruism are inculcated in the more or less constrained sharing or loan of private property. The older and stronger children are trained to protect the younger and weaker; a sick parent or child is treated with especial thoughtfulness, and is an object of solicitude. Appropriate conduct is insisted upon not only toward members of the family, but also toward friends, school-mates, and others with whom children come in contact. Sympathy for those in pain or poverty is encouraged, and acts of beneficence are suggested or approved.

Rights of property

Altruism

Girls are instructed in domestic economy, learning to cook, to sew, to manage a home, in all its details, or at least to direct servants intelligently in such tasks. They may also be trained, with the aid of educational institutions, to fill positions as teachers, stenographers, bookkeepers, etc. Boys are in a like manner equipped in a general way, and often especially prepared for various social occupations to which they are attracted and seem adapted.

Equipment for social tasks

§ 125. The several specific functions of the family which we have enumerated may be regarded as together constituting one great service, *i.e.* the preservation of generational continuity, physical and psychical. The family bridges the gap between one generation and the next. It transmits physical life, material wealth, and psychical resources. In this broad view the family assumes new importance, and its general function is clearly recognized as fundamental, in the present order.

The family function as a whole

Society, having its life in a common body of thought and

Summary

belief, exhibits growth, *i.e.* readjustments of structures and activities in correspondence with modified ideals; and displays certain general functions, all of which are performed, at least rudimentarily, by the isolated family; but, as organization advances, these are shared in greater or less degree with social institutions or organs. The functions exclusively or largely performed by the family are: (a) *propagation*, (b) *location or settlement*, (c) *defense*, (d) *production*, (e) *apportionment and transmission*, (f) *communication*, (g) *intellectual training*, (h) *socialization*. All these activities combine in the one general function of preserving the physical and psychical continuity of society.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. What constitutes the life of the writer's college?
2. The influence of social structure on the Woman's Suffrage Movement and on Civil Service Reform.
3. A comparison of the function of defense performed by a frontiersman, with that exercised by a citizen of New York.
4. The organic sanction for private property and inheritance.
5. The rearing of children by the state (one of the socialistic proposals) considered from the standpoint of Social Physiology.
6. Observed instances of American families that perform functions in any respect analogous with those of royal families in Europe.
7. Observed tendencies of the influence of the family upon the industrial character of its head.
8. Observations upon "family pride" as a social factor in the town where the writer lives.
9. Study of the modifications of family function consequent upon residence in a hotel.
10. Show whether a selected Protestant church performs more or fewer activities parallel with the functions of the normal family than was the case in the early New England churches.
11. An analysis of functions performed by a selected family in a small community, compared with those of a family in a similar social station in a large community.

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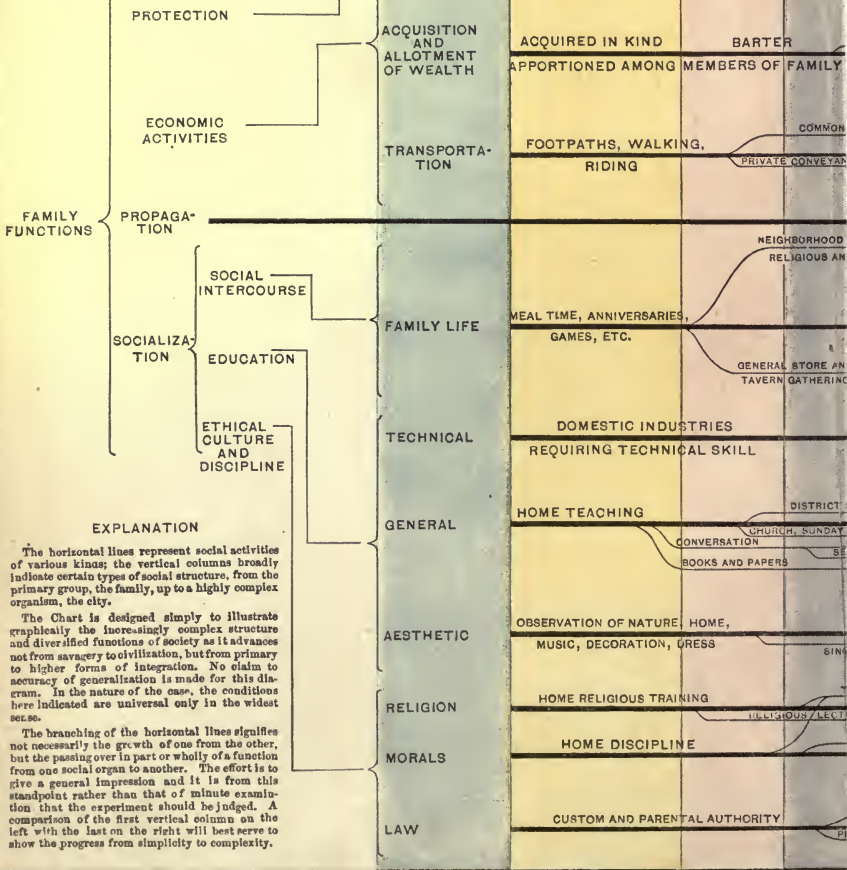
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A CHART

DESIGNED TO SHOW THE
DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS
AT VARIOUS STAGES OF
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.



COMMUNITY VILLAGE	TRANSITION	TOWN	TRANSITION	CITY
CONSTABLE		PAID POLICE		SPECIALIZED POLICE DEPT.
		PRIVATE WATCHMAN		Specialized Police Dept. Regular Paid Dept. Private Watchman
EXTINGUISHING FIRES		VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPT.		
		MIXED PAID & VOLUNTEER		FULLY PAID FIRE DEPT.
CAUTIONS		BOARD OF HEALTH		Public Health
LOCAL HEALERS	GENERAL PRACTITIONERS			PUBLIC WORKS
				General Physicians Specialists in Medicine
		GENERAL HOSPITAL		Home Nursing
		LOCAL MANUFACTORIES	TRAINED NURSE SPECIAL HOSPITALS	General Hospital Trained Nurse Special Hospitals
BUILDER, MILLER, BLACKSMITH ETC.				Manufactories
MEAT MARKET	MILK SUPPLY	BAKERY ETC.		Bakery etc. Milk Depot Meat Market Domestic Cooking etc. Caterer Milliner Dry Goods Store Groceries Hardware Store Hat and Fur Store Shoe Store Sale of Produce
GENERAL STORE				
REPRESENTING ALL MANUFACTURES	SALE OF PRODUCE IN GENERAL MARKET			
EXCHANGE WITH STORE				
	PAGES AND SALARY	RETURNS FROM INVESTMENTS		Wages and Salary Returns from Investments Rise in Land Values
TURNPIKE ROADS	RAILWAY	PAVED STREETS		Railway Paved Streets
		SIDEWALKS		Sidewalks
STAGE COACHES	OMNIBUSES	STREET CARS LIVERY STABLE CABS, ETC.		Private Conveyances Omnibuses Street Cars Hired Carriages Eropagation Society Church Societies The Theater Amateur Theatricals Tableaux and Elocution
ERINOS	SOCIETY			
ULAR	THE THEATER	AMATEUR THEATRICALS		
SCHOOL EXHIBITIONS AND SPELLING MATCHES	TABLEAUX AND ELOCUTION	UNIVERSITY EXTENSION		Lectures and Concerts University Extension Home Life The Lodge The Club Debating Society The Saloon The Labor Union Manual Arts Manual Training Domestic Industries Technical Schools University College Academy Graded Schools Home Teaching Church Teaching Conversation Books and Papers Public Library Daily Papers Art Schools Illustrated Lectures Home Culture Art Gallery Musicales and Concerts Music Schools The Church Home Religious Teaching Religious Literature Moral Teachings in Schools Home Teaching of Conduct Force of Public Opinion Building Laws Sanitary Laws Police Regulations Public Law Private Law Special Laws of Many Kinds
	POPULAR LECTURES AND CONCERTS			
	THE LODGE	SOCIAL CLUB		
	DEBATING SOCIETY			
	THE SALOON	LABOR UNION		
THE MANUAL ARTS				
	TECHNICAL TRAINING AT THE MINIMUM	MANUAL TRAINING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS		
	GRADED SCHOOLS	ACADEMY	COLLEGE	TECHNICAL SCHOOLS UNIVERSITY
LS				
OL, ETC.				
S, LECTURES, ADDRESSES				
	PUBLIC LIBRARY	DAILY PRESS		
	ILLUSTRATED LECTURES	ART SCHOOLS		
SCHOOL	MUSICALS	ART GALLERY		
CHURCH	MUSIC SCHOOLS	PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS' CONCERTS		
SCHOOLS	OCCUPATION OR PROFESSION			
	PUBLIC OPINION			
PUBLIC LAW		POLICE REGULATIONS	SANITARY LAWS	BUILDING LAWS
E LAW				



CHAPTER II

THE FUNCTIONS OF SOCIETY AS PERFORMED BY ORGANS

§ 126. Having discussed the functions of the family, we proceed now to regard society as an organic whole, made up of differentiated and integrated primary family groups, and characterized by certain essential activities, which are performed not only by the family, but by many functionally peculiar combinations of persons and property known as social organs. In all these aggregate activities, the family has a greater or less part. The family, in one aspect, is a functionally many-sided organ, but in a highly complex society, a group devoted in normal conditions to one special service has a peculiar claim to be regarded as a social organ.

Society regarded as an organic whole

In the present chapter, social functions will be studied from the standpoint of special organs, just as in the last they were considered in relation to the family group. It is obvious that each social organ in its functional activities might be described in detail after the plan already followed in the case of the family, and that a complete analysis of society would require such description, but the scope of this book permits only an introduction to the method.

Social functions to be studied from the standpoint of organs

§ 127. While social organs are primarily devoted to the performance of a single general function, they are often structurally adapted to many other activities. This measure of versatility is of great social importance, since it permits a

Functional versatility and vicariousness of social organs

wider range of service, and a prompt adjustment to changed conditions and unexpected emergencies.

One organ
may tempo-
rarily take
the place of
another

Again, in certain circumstances, one organ may perform the function of another, which is temporarily incapacitated, or proves unequal to a sudden or unusual demand. In the latter case, the vicarious service is merely temporary, and is almost always made necessary by abnormal conditions.

Illustrations

The organs of commerce not only carry on their peculiar activities, but they serve to communicate knowledge other than that required by their primary function.

An army

An army organization is a means of defense, but it is also used to build bridges and railways, to survey boundaries, to gather weather reports, etc. A newspaper is primarily an organ for communicating psychical impulses, but it may also send out exploring expeditions.

A newspaper

Firemen as
police

An admirable illustration of vicarious service was afforded when the firemen of a certain city dispersed by streams of water a mob which the police could not scatter.

The state troops of Pennsylvania were quickly summoned and set at work amid the ruins of Johnstown, when that city had been devastated by flood. It is a common occurrence, in cases of disaster, for churches and schools to be turned into hospitals, and for boards of trade, as such, to collect supplies of food and money, and to superintend the distribution of them.

The social
function of
location or
settlement

§ 128. While it is true that the family is the chief immediate agency for bringing population into orderly relations with the land, the function in the broadest view is performed, in a measure, by society through appropriate organs. The total area which a society occupies belongs, in generally accepted terms, to the group as an organic whole. Such sovereignty of the nation or the municipality takes precedence over private property in the land, which latter claim, however, is fully recognized when social and individual interests come in conflict.

The right of
eminent
domain

By what is technically known as the right of eminent domain, society, through its duly constituted organ, govern-

ment, may take land from a private citizen and devote it to public purposes, but, in so doing, it must adequately compensate the individual for the property right which he has been compelled to resign.

is exercised by society through government to serve the interests of collective settlement

By the exercise of such sovereignty, in addition to the inheritance of land long recognized as common, society, in its corporate capacity, possesses rights of property in the soil, which it controls in the collective interest of all its members. Again, by virtue of its sovereign powers, society determines general divisions of territory and often prescribes certain conditions with which individuals and families must comply in making their settlements. Thus in many ways the social organ of government plays directly or indirectly a part in the corporate function of maintaining population in definite and permanent relations with the land.

City streets and parks are public property. When it becomes necessary to open new thoroughfares, such private land as may be needed is condemned, appraised, and paid for. When new land is added to the municipality, the city has the power to divide it into blocks and streets in such a way as seems most advantageous. Building regulations, prescribing materials and general methods of construction, are also enforced. In larger societies, highways by land and water are common property, which may be enjoyed equally by all citizens. In behalf of railways or canals, the state exercises its sovereignty and secures rights of way. In these and other arrangements with relation to the soil, the state, through its government, helps to connect population with the land.

Illustrations

§ 129. Special social organs of many kinds perform the function of shelter and defense in such societies as have reached a certain size and degree of organization. In groups of a rudimentary type, the family, with the exception of occasional and temporary coöperative efforts, exercises this function unaided.

The social function of shelter and defense

Shelter is provided by taverns and hotels; defense against disease is sought through boards of health and sanitary bureaus; the sick are

Illustrations

Social organs
of shelter and
defense

treated by professional physicians either at home or in specially organized hospitals; protection against fire is afforded by companies of trained men equipped with necessary apparatus; individuals and property are protected by constables and policemen from the approach of cutthroats, thieves, incendiaries, and other unsocial persons. Attacks on the part of other societies or nations are resisted by armies and navies.

The social
function of
production

§ 130. Viewing the social organism as a living whole in definite relation with its natural environment, we see that the necessities and possibilities of individual and of collective existence demand adequate material means for sustaining physical vitality, for attaining greater technical efficiency, and for reaching a higher plane of social life. This fundamental service of supplying sustenance is performed by a vast number of social organic groups, some of which are engaged in delving for natural supplies of mineral wealth, others in applying art to the development of vegetable and animal life, while a third class is raising raw materials to higher powers of usefulness.

Vast numbers
of organic
groups are
engaged in
production

The combined efforts of all these agencies result in the production of an immense aggregate of diversified wealth, which, in a wide view, is put at the service of society as an organized unity.

Illustrations

The social organs, technically known as extractive and transforming industries, perform by far the greater part of the productive function.

Extractive
industries

By these specially constituted agencies, gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron ores, oil, coal, clay, and other crude natural products are mined from the earth; timber is withdrawn from the forests, fish and game are taken from water and land; cereals and vegetables are systematically modified in structure, stimulated to high powers of reproduction, and gathered from fields and gardens; cattle and horses are bred and herded.

Transforming
industries

Again, many of these raw materials are transformed into finished articles. Ores are crushed and smelted into pure metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, which, in turn, are further transformed into coins, jewels, rails, machines, and countless other ornaments and implements; tim-

ber is sawed and planed into beams and boards, and these again are fashioned into a bewildering variety of constructions, great and small; wheat, corn, and oats are ground into flour and meal; cattle are killed and turned into meat, and all these food products are carried to still higher degrees of refinement and of usefulness to population. The imagination can readily conceive of all the material products, which have been merely hinted at in the above enumeration, as heaped up by society as a whole working through its structurally appropriate organs.

The aggregate of wealth a social product

§ 131. Continuing our observation of society as in a sense an organic individual, although not of any zoölogical type, we notice that production results in the accumulation of different materials at different points in the territory to correspond with the distribution of natural resources. If, therefore, the aggregate wealth of society is to be put at the service of the whole group, it is necessary to mingle these different and widely scattered materials in due proportions, and to spread them with relative uniformity over the entire area. This result is accomplished through the function of transportation, which is performed by a great number of special social organs.

The social function of transportation

Products must be mingled in proper proportions, and spread over the area of occupation

Since the individual is a member of many broadly extended aggregates and organs, and since these groups often change their relations with the soil, it follows that he must go from place to place in order to take part effectively in his social tasks. The same agencies which transport material products in most cases perform a similar service for individuals.

The many-sidedness of the individual involves transportation of persons

Mr. Spencer, in his discussion of the distributing system, likens the function of transportation to the service which the blood performs for an animal organism, in carrying materials of sustenance throughout the body and permitting each tissue to appropriate such supplies as it may need. We prefer not to emphasize such analogies, which seem more likely to cloud than to clarify thought, but the figure in this

Spencer's biological analogy

case serves, at least, an illustrative purpose. The student is as usual warned against being led by such phrases as "arteries of travel or traffic" to discover complete parallels between society and any zoölogical organism.

Illustrations

A bird's-eye view of the products of the United States,

Let us imagine ourselves able to gain from some point of vantage a bird's-eye view of the United States. In Maine, we discover heaps of lumber; in Massachusetts, mammoth piles of cloth, boots, shoes, and other manufactured articles; in Pennsylvania, vast quantities of coal, iron, and steel; in the southern states, immense harvests of cotton; all along the Atlantic coast are fish and oysters in abundance. In Michigan, again, we see great forests; in Ohio, bales of wool; in the states of the central west, broad fields of grain, and countless herds of cattle; in Colorado, Nevada, California, etc., heaps of gold, silver, lead. In Oregon and Washington, by the shores of Columbia River and Puget Sound, are salmon in plenty, while in far-away Alaskan islands, are bales of raw seal skins. Such are a few of the more striking material products which meet our general glance.

and the means for moving them

Again examining the scene more closely, we discover an intricate network of footpaths, wagon roads, railways, canals, rivers, lakes, stretching in every direction from farmhouse to village, from village to town and city, until the whole area is covered by the ramifying system. Along the highways, these various products and many others are being hurried until they are so spread over all the land, that each community possesses, in some degree, every kind of material means for the support and higher enjoyment of life.

The commercial traveler

As to the transportation of individuals, the commercial traveler is a member of a social organ or wholesale house, which extends its operations over a wide territory. In the discharge of his function, therefore, the salesman must go from place to place. The miner and the factory operative must follow the general organs of which they are parts, to new fields of activity. Separated relatives, drawn toward each other by ties of affection, gladly avail themselves of means to travel. Lecturers and political leaders, if they are to gain the ear of the people, must make journeys through the land. The normal existence of society depends no less upon the transportation of persons than upon the transportation of material wealth.

The social function of exchange

§ 132. Society not only secures the qualitative spreading of wealth over the whole area of occupation, but also determines

its quantitative allotment to different parts of the territory. Back of the physical function of transportation there is a largely psychical function of exchange which determines the principles of proportion upon which the surplus products of one unit of area shall be surrendered in return for the surplus products of another unit. The successful performance of this service requires (1) that some universal standard of value shall be fixed upon, and (2) that the relation of every product to this standard shall always be determinable. This twofold function is performed, on the one hand, by the social organ of government which decides upon a medium of exchange or money, and on the other, by markets, commercial agencies, boards of trade, and other special organs which, to a greater or less degree, fix those relations of goods to money, known as prices. These principles having been settled, the appropriate social agencies proceed to effect the actual transfers in accordance with them. The further discussion of money and prices belongs properly to economic science.

Society not only transports but exchanges different forms of wealth

Money and prices

Ignoring for the present, in order to simplify the case, the existence of a most complicated system of credits and investments which binds all parts of society into an economic whole, let us suppose that a certain western township produces in a year so many thousand bushels of grain, and head of cattle and hogs. After satisfying local needs, the owners of this wealth desire to exchange the surplus for a great variety of different products and finished articles from other parts of the country. The papers report the prices of grain and hogs determined from day to day in the great markets and produce exchanges. On the basis of these quotations, the products are exchanged by local or distant wholesalers for money. This is taken by the farmers to retail dealers, who, in return for it, give them cloth and shoes from Massachusetts, wagons and harvesting machinery from Ohio, flour from Minneapolis, coal from Pennsylvania or Colorado, lumber from Michigan, and many other things from different parts of the country. It is clear that each unit of area will receive goods in proportion to the surplus wealth or money representation of wealth which it can offer in exchange.

Illustrations

The products of a Western township exchanged for the goods of other sections

The function
of advancing
wealth for
special needs

§ 133. In every society, and especially in one which has a large territory in proportion to population, the discovery of undeveloped natural resources and the occupation of new or long-unused land create local demands for means of production and for men, *i.e.* for the formation of new organs.

Men and
wealth are
quickly drafted
to points of
special need

In a condition of isolation or unorganized existence, such territory would have to pass through a long period of slow development, but when a unified society occupies the entire area, these neglected places receive speedy aid. Through the organs of finance and transportation, surplus goods and men are quickly concentrated at the points where they are needed, and the arrested or tardy growth is immediately stimulated. In such cases the influence of new or enlarged functions upon the social structure is clearly traceable.

Again, at certain times in the year, many organs of production need a measure of temporary assistance in order to complete their wares or to pay their running expenses until the proceeds of sales have been received. Through the banking and credit system of the country, the surplus wealth of society is loaned to meet such requirements.

Illustrations

Mining camps
and oil towns
in the United
States

The growth, almost in a single night, of mining camps and oil towns in the United States, furnishes conspicuous examples of the way in which wealth and population are suddenly drafted from all parts of a large society to points where rich natural resources have been discovered.

The recent opening of lands in the southwest has caused similar phenomena. Towns of several thousand inhabitants have sprung up within three or four years.

The system of
credits and
discounts

It is a well-known fact that very many manufacturing concerns do business largely on borrowed capital, paying notes when returns from sales are received, and of course deducting the interest from their profits.

The demand for money "for moving the crops," which is often mentioned in the financial columns of the press, implies this same service of advancing wealth for temporary need.

§ 134. We have seen how, in general, aggregate products are spread over the area which a society occupies, and, on the other hand, we have observed how the share of each family is apportioned among its dependent members, but there is another most essential social task which we have not yet considered. It is known to economic science as the function of distribution, *i.e.* the division of the aggregate wealth among the families and economically independent individuals who compose the society.

The social function of apportionment or distribution

In a large view, all members of society are combined into a vast system of interdependent organs, which, as a result of their total activity, produce multiform material wealth and render a great variety of services—all, in general, conducive to the support and elevation of life. The question which presents itself is: How are these results, material and psychical, distributed among those who coöperate in their production?

Social wealth as the total product of individual activities

In the first place, all goods and services which are recognized as subject to distribution are measured by the usual standard and divided in terms of money. It should be borne in mind that the land itself and its resources are objects of private property, and are included in the aggregate wealth of society. In distribution, wealth assumes the various forms of rent, interest, profits, salaries, fees, and wages, which represent the claims of individuals upon the total social wealth, by virtue of property rights or personal service, or both.

Forms of distribution—rent, interest, profits, fees, salaries, wages

The relative amounts of these shares is roughly determined in a way analogous to the fixing of prices by the markets and exchanges; but many other organs, the government, professional associations, labor unions, and combinations of employers have some share in the general function. Here, again, we must leave more thorough and detailed exposition to the economic specialist.

Many organs are concerned in determining the methods of distribution

Illustrations

The law of supply and demand and other factors which roughly determine distribution

The law of supply and demand, although it may be more or less modified by factors of personality, tends to determine the proportions of distribution. Rents are influenced by the anxiety of tenants to secure stores, houses, or land; the rate of interest, the security being the same, varies with the demand for loans; profits, in competitive industries, are largely determined by the amount of goods the market will absorb at a certain price; in monopolistic enterprises, profits are chiefly fixed by the limit at which price and demand reach the most advantageous equilibrium. Salaries are, in a measure, influenced by conventional standards or special capacity, but are subject to largely the same influences which determine wages. The compensation of "labor" is a vexed question. Although the number seeking employment has much to do with the rate of wages, the full effects of competition are in no small degree counteracted by sentiments of altruism and by the organized labor unions which, of late, have grown so rapidly in members and efficiency.

The social function of transmitting wealth

§ 135. The function of handing down from one generation to the next, the material accumulations of society, although chiefly a family activity, is by no means exclusively such. Society in its corporate capacity, as we have seen, has rights of property in land and other wealth, public buildings, museums, art galleries, hospitals, asylums, and jails. These things are transmitted in the uninterrupted possession of the state or municipality and are used in common by generation after generation. The same service of transmission is rendered by other organs, such as boards of trustees, etc., which guard semi-public institutions.

The social function of discovery and invention

§ 136. Between society and the land, constant reaction is observable. Material progress is the phrase which describes this process of modifying physical environment and raising its forces to higher efficiency. These changes in natural conditions and the increased wealth and potency which are made available, react in a marked way upon the structures and activities of society.

The general task of scrutinizing nature, of bringing to

light unknown resources, of mastering the laws of force, and of applying them in new and more effective ways, is manifestly a social function, inasmuch as it is chiefly performed by the coöperative efforts either of specially organized groups or of somewhat interdependent persons.

Invention and discovery are tasks of coöperation

Although individuals play important parts in this service of discovery and invention, they are dependent in a very great degree upon the achievements of those who have preceded them. In a general view of any considerable period of time, the work of recombination and technical improvement displays the division of labor and the interdependence of parts which characterize the performance of an organic function.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in writing of the intellectual achievements of our times, says: "They are not the colossal products of individual minds amongst us; they are all the results of small accumulations of knowledge slowly and painfully made and added to by many minds through an indefinite number of generations in the past, every addition to this store of knowledge affording still greater facilities for further additions." (*Social Evolution*, p. 266).

Illustrations

Quotation from Kidd

The triumphs of society over nature are the prominent facts of the present century. The influence of machinery, steam transportation, and electrical communication upon social structures and activities has been so great, that the contrast between the old and the new is almost startling. But the task is not complete. Exploring expeditions, surveying parties, physical and chemical laboratories, agricultural experiment stations, and countless individuals in virtual coöperation with each other, and with those whose work they inherit, are constantly engaged in the great task of finding out more of nature's secrets and putting them at the service of society.

Material progress of the present century

§ 137. The personal elements of the social organism are not held in physical contact by material ties, but are given coherence through psychical bonds. Movements of society are occasioned only by psychical impulses, and social action must depend on the communication of thought through

The social function of psychical communication

the entire organism. This function of communication has already been adequately described by implication in our description of the psycho-physical communicating apparatus (Bk. III., Chap. IV.).

**The social
function of
intellectual
training**

§ 138. Since society possesses a common body of knowledge, which represents the accumulated experience of countless generations, it is manifestly the function of society as a whole to put these treasures of thought, increased and modified by its organs of discovery and research, in the possession of the new individuals who are constantly taking the places of those that perish. In performing this service, it is necessary also to develop intellectual capacities for knowledge, and to stimulate powers of original thought by which the progress of science and the widening of culture may be secured.

This general function is performed by a system of special organs, in which persons and property are appropriately combined. (§ 98.)

**Illustrations
Educational
institutions**

The educational institutions of society, public, private, and ecclesiastical, made up of teachers, professors, books, apparatus, and buildings, perform, in the aggregate, the double service of preparing individual minds for the reception and use of knowledge, and of communicating what men through great periods of time have learned about nature and humanity.

**Lectures,
sermons, and
addresses**

Specific intellectual training is not confined to schools and colleges. Popular lectures, sermons, and addresses of many kinds have, in large measure, a distinctly educational value.

Libraries, etc.

Again, public libraries, museums, and the periodical press afford opportunities for continuous self-directed study on the part of individuals.

**Social
intercourse**

By social contact in all its forms, there is constant communication from person to person, and in this process, along with a vast mass of ideas which serve no permanent intellectual end, there goes much of really valuable knowledge. Through all the agencies which have thus been only hinted at, society does the work of training and transmission,

which the continuity and progress of its organic life demand as absolutely essential.

Æsthetic training is, in one aspect, an intellectual process, and in another, it has an emotional and ethical side. Society, through its appropriate organs, cultivates an appreciation for the beautiful by producing artistic buildings, paintings, statues, music, and other symbols, which delight the senses, arouse subtle emotions, and inspire higher ideals.

Æsthetic development a social task

§ 139. While the work of so training individuals that their conduct will be instinctively or intelligently social is primarily a task of the family, many other social agencies are engaged in the general function.

The social function of discipline

When we regard society as a whole, it is evident that, without appropriate activity on the part of the individuals who compose it, the collective life could not be maintained. The differentiation which we have observed in social organization, and the interdependence which has been so often emphasized, render it of prime importance that each element of population should promptly and efficiently do his part in the whole system. Society, therefore, not only through the family, but through many other agencies, performs this function of disciplining individuals. Each organ trains its own elements to perform their peculiar tasks, and certain general institutions, educational, ecclesiastical, and governmental, take part in the aggregate activity. Morality and law will be discussed in a later chapter, and need here be only mentioned as bearing in a significant way on this function of discipline.

It is necessary that social units should perform their respective parts promptly and efficiently

The employees of an iron-rolling mill, where, at certain times, great promptness and thorough coöperation are required, display agility and skill in manipulation which astonish the casual visitor. The machine-like maneuvers of military bodies, the ready response and quick movements of sailors when orders are given, the systematic work of a city fire department as contrasted with the bungling of a volunteer village company, all suggest the great efficiency which is secured by discipline.

Illustrations

Instinctive activity of soldiers, sailors, and firemen

So in all departments of human activities, physical and mental, we find men and women trained to prompt, rational, or instinctive action.

Ethical
conduct

But individuals are not only skilled in their organic occupations; they conduct themselves ethically. The principles of right conduct are taught, in some degree, in the schools, but the churches, directly or indirectly, are a chief means of that moral discipline which forms within the individual a standard and discovers a sanction, that guides him in his relations with his fellow-men. These ethical standards, moreover, find general expression in public opinion, custom, and law, by which external forces those individuals who lack or ignore influence from within, are compelled to conform, in general, to the prevailing mode of conduct.

Social gatherings involve a certain discipline

All gatherings of individuals for purposes of sociability, entertainments, parties, club meetings, etc., involve a certain measure of discipline. The ceremonies of social converse, howsoever they may be conventionalized, are an outward expression of ethical principles. The boor is he who lacks or ignores these forms of behavior, careless of the courtesy and consideration due from a truly social person to his fellows. The signs in public places, which deprecate certain kinds of conduct, are evidences of this social function of discipline.

The aggregate function, of training individuals to perform readily and skillfully their special tasks and to demean themselves appropriately in all relations with their fellow-men, is accomplished by every agency from the family to the state.

The social
function of
coördination
or control

§ 140. We may imagine a society in definite relations with the soil, with developed resources, accumulated stores of wealth and knowledge, and well-disciplined elements of population; yet without some means of securing the efficient coöperation of all its parts such a group could not retain its form and continue its organic existence.

Coördination
of social
activities is
essential to
organic life

We discover, therefore, the absolute necessity for a function of control, regulation, or coördination, which shall bring all social activities into relations of complementary service.

This task is performed by a vast system of regulating activities, the structure of which has been analyzed (§ 98). The total function is wholly dependent upon that of communicating ideas and psychical impulses, and includes the

exercise of authority by centers of influence, which are related in a series of successive subordination from the more general to the more specific.

The activity of government affords the simplest examples of this function of control. The mobilizing of a French or German army corps for practice is a triumph of coördination. Within a few hours after an unexpected order has been issued, men and horses have been withdrawn from their ordinary occupations, the railway service has been seized, the necessary number of carriages despatched to each station, and, finally, the different companies of horse and foot, duly equipped and supplied with rations, have been hurried in proper proportions to the frontier. The entire movement depends upon a perfect organization of communication from one central authority, through successive centers, to a great number of primary executive elements.

Illustrations
The mobilization of a European army corps

But these exceptional manifestations of the coördinating function should not lead the student to suppose that the activity is limited to such emergencies. Every social organ has in it an element of control, and, in turn, is subordinated to the regulation of another agency. Thus every factory coördinates its internal activities, but is controlled in the amount and nature of its product by the commercial system of markets, prices, etc. Academies and preparatory schools are in one sense independent, self-directing institutions, but, in another, they are compelled to work in harmony with the whole educational system of which they form an organic part.

Every social organ has its internal controlling system

So all social activities are brought into more or less thorough coöperation. We may conceive of the entire organism as controlled by one great system of coördination made up of a vast number of greater and lesser parts.

Society as an organic whole exhibits certain general activities which are performed not only by the family, but by functional combinations of persons and property known as social organs. These organs, although primarily devoted to one service, display a measure of versatility.

Summary

Through appropriate organs, society (*a*) maintains definite relations with the land, (*b*) shelters and protects its individual elements, (*c*) produces wealth, (*d*) diffuses products

over the territory, (*e*) effects their exchange, (*f*) drafts wealth and population to points where they are needed, (*g*) distributes the aggregate wealth among its individual members, (*h*) transmits wealth from one generation to the next, (*i*) discovers new natural resources and increases technical efficiency, (*j*) trains the minds of individuals and transmits knowledge, (*k*) disciplines social elements to perform their parts appropriately, and (*l*) coördinates and controls all social activities.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. An analysis of the social functions performed either habitually or incidentally by the Young Men's Christian Association in the town where the writer lives.

2. A study of social organs in the process of differentiation in the town where the writer lives.

3. An investigation of the extent to which the government of the town where the writer lives performs the function of adjusting the relations of the population to the land.

4. A study of the extent to which the town in which the writer lives is capable of feeding itself.

5. A study of the resources which enable the town where the writer lives to pay for its food.

6. A study of the changes which would be inevitable in the town where the writer lives, if railway traffic were suspended for a year throughout the country.

7. An analysis of the functions performed by a selected manufacturing firm or corporation.

8. A study of the influences which the national banks in the town where the writer lives have exerted upon the community.

9. The agency of different organs in establishing moral standards in the community where the writer lives.

10. The various social functions performed by a large hospital.

CHAPTER III

PATHOLOGY IN GENERAL—THE PATHOLOGY OF THE FAMILY

§ 141. Up to this point in our analysis of society, we have dwelt in the main upon normality of structure and function, regarding social arrangements and activities as appropriate for the general end in view, *i.e.* the maintenance and progressive elevation of individual and collective life. Yet even in such a discussion, there have been at least occasional allusions to unsocial persons, to disputes about the distribution of wealth, to physical disease and other conditions which, in themselves, are manifestly abnormal, whatever their relation to the whole social organism may be. The study of all phenomena which are apparently inconsistent with the best interests of society, and the determination of clearly abnormal or unhealthful structures and functions, constitute what is known as Social Pathology. The term is borrowed from biological science, but does not imply any complete analogy.

Social
pathology
defined

as the study of
all phenomena
apparently
inconsistent
with social
welfare

§ 142. The idea of normality in general involves a definite standard by which anything may be measured and judged. The absence of a fixed or clearly defined standard of social health often renders it impossible to decide whether a given phenomenon is normal or abnormal. In other words, no system of ethics has been so universally accepted or at least so uniformly and rationally applied, as to afford the means of drawing a distinct line between social health and social disease.

Social
normality a
relative term

Standards of
social
judgments
vary

In the very nature of the case, which presents the most bewildering complexity, such definition has heretofore been impossible, and while we may hopefully expect gradual approximation to accuracy, it would be idle to dream of an absolutely determined criterion. It follows from this variation of standards that many phenomena must be classed as normal or abnormal, according to the ideals with which they are compared. But although a wide borderland must thus be left between the two territories, there are areas which unquestionably belong exclusively to the one or to the other.

Illustrations

Judged by the standards of a very large number of excellent people, the theater and the ball, as such, are pathological phenomena. On the other hand, there are those who see in the drama and in all social gatherings elements which in some manifestation are essential to complete life. A still greater proportion of individuals regards the saloon as an unmixed evil. Again, vast numbers of persons strenuously insist that this institution has a legitimate function to perform in society. It is clear that normality in these matters is relative from the standpoint of the external observer, however absolute it may be in the view of each group mentioned.

But in spite of the utter disagreement among these people about certain phenomena, they would all declare that the crowding of people in squalid and unsanitary tenements is inimical to the interests of society, *i.e.* a pathological condition.

The relation
of social
elements to
pathology

§ 143. Inasmuch as society is composed of land (wealth) and population combined in certain relations and concerned in certain activities, it follows that abnormal conditions of these elements must affect social structure and function.

Physical
disease

Bodily disease in individuals is, in one aspect, simply a vital phenomenon, but in another, it is of great social significance. Abnormal psychical states, in which men's desires are feeble and disproportionate, or seek lower rather than higher forms of gratification, are a primary source of social

maladies. The reciprocal influence of bodily and mental conditions is clearly a concern no less of Sociology than of Physiology and Psychology.

Again, the relations of individuals to land and wealth are often manifestly abnormal, in so far as the human elements fail to secure adequate means for complete life. Sterile soil, absence of mineral and other resources, scanty water supply and unfavorable climate, all are circumstances which help to produce pathological social conditions.

Relations of
individuals to
the land often
abnormal

It is obvious that these diseased or unsuitable elements directly affect all the structures and functions with which they are immediately concerned ; and since society is a coherent whole of interdependent parts, they also exert widespread indirect influences, which the complexity of the organism makes it difficult to trace.

Men and women who are physically diseased cannot, as a rule, perform their social tasks efficiently. They cannot, if dependent on their own efforts, properly maintain families or engage successfully in occupations. Their weakness affects all the groups with which they are connected. Weak-willed, slothful, intemperate, passionate, depraved persons cannot be combined into normal families, and although some of them may perform certain tasks well, on the whole, these classes impair the health of all groups and organs to which they belong, and help to form and maintain institutions which are a constant menace to society. In many cases, weak wills, sloth, and intemperance are largely results of bodily disease, and on the other hand, the satisfaction of base desires produces physical ill health.

Illustrations

Diseased
persons affect
social organs

Great numbers of people, as a result of many causes, live in cramped quarters under the most unfavorable conditions, and fail to obtain even the food and clothing necessary for normal physical existence.

Poverty

The farm lands of certain far western states, lacking proper moisture and at the mercy of a fickle climate, afford a meager and precarious support to the people, who are so engrossed in securing physical subsistence that they can give little thought to the other factors which go to make up complete life.

Barren or ill-
watered lands

A drunken switchman causes a railway disaster, which costs scores of lives and involves suffering, perhaps want, for hundreds of persons

Railway
disaster

Sweat shops in many parts of the country. Disease may spread through a city from a sweat shop where children, sick with scarlet fever or diphtheria, actually lie upon the piles of clothing which are ready for the counters of great stores, whence they are distributed to the homes of the citizens.

Such is the complexity of social interrelations, that pathological conditions cannot be isolated. They affect to a greater or less degree the whole social organism.

Pathological
structures
and social
elements

§ 144. While the truth that has just been stated — namely, that diseased and abnormal individuals produce pathological social conditions — is of fundamental significance, another important truth must not be overlooked. It is that abnormal social arrangements and functions react upon individuals, offering opportunities for personal degeneration and unsocial conduct if not actually making them necessary.

Relation of
men to
institutions

This reciprocal interrelation between men and institutions must be kept in view by all rational reformers. Insistence upon only one half of this twofold truth is a source of much confused thought and fruitless effort. As in the case of all social growth there is constant modification of structure in adjustment to new or changed functions, so pathological conditions are slowly eliminated as a result of improved individual and collective thought, feeling, and conduct.

Illustrations

In one view, the saloon system, which, in spite of such legitimate service as it may render, may be regarded as on the whole a pathological structure, is an expression of the appetite of men for liquor. It is clear that if this desire could be destroyed, the saloon, in its present form, would disappear. Many men, therefore, deprecate attempts to prevent the sale of liquor, and urge that all effort be concentrated upon changing men's characters. On the other hand, it is equally true that the saloon offers temptations to weak and sociable natures, and reacts upon the population in a marked manner. It is not strange that great numbers of earnest people are strenuously working to abolish the saloon as an institution. Yet from our study of social growth, we see that those who combine these two plans of changing and controlling by

The saloon
problem

many influences the desires of individuals, and of gradually modifying the saloon system in harmony with advancing individual and collective conviction, are pursuing a strictly rational and scientific policy.

Those socialists who attribute all poverty, vice, and crime to our present economic arrangements, have good reason for their impeachment of existing society; but in alleging that institutions are the sole causes of pathological conditions, they display ignorance of the true nature of the social organism.

The socialists' explanation of vice, pauperism, and crime

But, on the opposite side, easy-going citizens and even many genuinely interested philanthropists explain poverty, with slight allowances for natural calamities, as almost entirely the result of individual intemperance, laziness, and improvidence. Ignorance and unreasoning prejudice, vice, and crime, are likewise regarded as matters wholly of individual responsibility. We can readily see that the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes, that men and social arrangements are tending constantly to influence each other.

§ 145. From what has been indicated, it is easy to see that close scrutiny of society would discover an endless variety of more or less abnormal conditions. In a preliminary survey, like that in which we are now engaged, it is impossible to make a detailed study of these phenomena in all their degrees of abnormality and in their ramifications through society. We must content ourselves with mentioning the more obvious of the many signs of social disease.

The more obvious pathological conditions of society

(1) *Poverty*. The existence of a large proportion of the population in circumstances not of dependence, but of precarious livelihood without the means for even approaching complete life, makes at least a *prima facie* case against the normality of present society.

Poverty

(2) *Vice*. Baser thoughts and desires in the population find expression in institutions of many kinds, which, like sores upon an animal organism, are outward evidence of hidden maladies.

Vice

(3) *Crime*. A still graver symptom of organic disease is afforded by the many unsocial elements who refuse to conform with the laws which represent in general the com-

Crime

mon body of convictions and ideals that constitute the peculiar life of society.

Pauperism

(4) *Pauperism*. The existence of large numbers of persons who, although they cannot or will not get into economic relations with society, must nevertheless be supported by it, constitutes a pathological condition.

Physical disability

(5) *Physical Disability*. The fact that feeble-minded, insane, deaf, dumb, and otherwise abnormal individuals are by no means few is an impeachment hardly less of social than of individual health.

Social inactivity

(6) *Social Inactivity*. There are large numbers of people who by virtue of economic arrangements live in selfish idleness so far as social service is concerned. The existence of such a class constitutes another serious form of pathological condition.

The conditions which we have enumerated and many others less obvious, if not less significant, manifestly imply that social arrangements are far from satisfactory and that social tasks are being ill done. Let us review the functions which are performed by the family to discover in what ways that primary group may fall short of normal service and how far, in general, it may be held responsible for pathological social phenomena.

Pathology of the function of propagation

§ 146. Although the precise nature and extent of the influence which parents exert upon offspring are still matters of dispute among the biologists, there is a consensus of opinion as to the possibility of transmitting certain diseased conditions from one generation to the next. It is quite likely, if not inevitable, therefore, that, if persons who are physically unfit assume the family relation, they will produce weak or abnormal children. Many marriages at present are unquestionably of doubtful benefit, if not of positive harm, to society, because they so often result in producing unsuitable

Transmission of physical disease

elements of population. This whole problem is one of extreme delicacy, and must await increased study, enlarging intelligence, a higher type of altruism, and perhaps an extension of social functions.

A problem of extreme delicacy

Again, the function of propagation may be ill performed either in producing too many or too few children. Economic considerations, as we shall see in a later paragraph, cannot be disregarded. Inability to sustain a large family is, in other words, the possession of more children than one can support. All due allowances having been made for unforeseen misfortunes and disappointed hopes, many families are too large for their own good and for the best interests of society.

Families often too large to be adequately sustained,

On the other hand, selfishness, apprehension, and excessive caution lead large numbers of parents who are abundantly able to maintain and rear several children, to limit their offspring to one or two. A small family cannot, other things being equal, exert the same socializing influences that are to be found in a home where the conflicting or at least coexistent interests of several individuals must be considered.

or too small to afford the best socializing influences

When we remember that the excessive multiplication is among those economically and psychically ill-equipped for socializing the young, while the undue limiting of population is chiefly confined to the well-to-do and educated classes, the resulting tendency is of great social significance.

§ 147. There are many pathological conditions in a greater or less degree due to the failure of the family to obtain an adequate share of the wealth produced by society, or, in other words, to get into such economic relations with the organism as will insure an income sufficient for fairly complete life. This fact will be considered in the next chapter as a pathological phenomenon of social organs, and

Pathology of the functions of location and defense

is here introduced simply because of its relation to certain abnormalities of family functions, which are now to be described.

We have seen that it is the business of the normal family to secure a suitable domicile in which to shelter its members, and, moreover, to protect them against danger from natural forces, physical disease, and unsocial persons. Even a superficial glance at contemporary society discovers large numbers of families ill-housed, crowded into cramped quarters, failing to maintain a suitable temperature, and taking little or no precaution against the unsanitary conditions which surround them. Such ill-performance of family functions is manifestly a source of danger to society as a whole. In such circumstances, the possibility of rearing healthful and vigorous individuals is reduced to a minimum, and thus diseased cells are supplied to the social tissues. While it is true that these conditions are more conspicuous in great cities and among the poor, yet they are discoverable also in smaller communities, and carelessness concerning sanitary precautions is often chargeable to the well to do no less than to those in straitened circumstances.

Many families obviously fail to provide suitable shelter and to offer adequate defense

The failures conspicuous in the city are not absent from rural communities

Illustrations

The tenements of large cities exhibit unhealthful conditions

The tenement life of great cities from the native quarters of Stamboul, the Ghetto of Rome, and the Whitechapel district of London, to "Mulberry Bend" in New York, and the region about Hull House in Chicago, display, among other things, these pathological conditions of family life. In the book *How the Other Half Lives*, Mr. Jacob A. Riis has described with faithful minuteness the status of the poor in the tenements of New York. The problem of how families may be assisted in the better performance of their functions of location, shelter, and defense is attracting the attention of many reformers who are alive to the fundamental importance to individuals and to society of raising the standard of family life.

Again, even in less crowded societies, many houses are far from suitable. The dwellings of workingmen are often too small for the purpose which they ought to serve. The pollution of streams and wells, the collection of water in cellars, defects in plumbing and drainage,

are too frequently permitted by all classes of citizens. Many a family is stricken with typhoid fever, or diphtheria, which can be traced directly to preventable conditions.

§ 148. Each family carries on within itself certain activities of production, chief of which is the preparation of food. It is clearly important that this function should be well performed, that wholesome and nutritious means of sustenance should be provided for all members of the family. Ignoring, for the present, variation in the quantity and quality of the raw materials which different families are able to secure, we observe that, in a great number of cases, domestic arts are unequal to the task of transforming such supplies into suitable food. Nor is this lack of skill wholly confined to the households of the poor, among whom, however, it is general. There are minor failures in domestic production, which need not be specifically mentioned. All these defects in domestic economy constitute a manifestly pathological condition.

Pathology of the function of domestic production

The chief failure in domestic production is in the preparation of food

Those who have made a study of the poor, report that they live largely upon ill-cooked food, in which there is little variety, and that their knowledge of food stuffs is exceedingly limited. The foreigners, for example, who come to the United States are unacquainted with the uses of corn meal, and all classes regard with more or less scorn dried beans, peas, and other products which, by proper methods, may be turned into nutritious food.

Illustrations

The establishment of model kitchens and classes for housewives in Boston and other cities, is part of an effort to improve a most essential family activity.

Model kitchens and cooking schools

Large numbers of cooking schools and clubs for the well to do are also an evidence of a widespread desire to raise the general standard and efficiency of domestic production.

It is only within a comparatively few years that scientific experiments have been made to determine the values of different food materials, and to discover the proportions in which they should be combined to secure the best average results. The dietaries of schools, colleges, and state institutions are beginning to receive the attention of experts.

Pathology of
the functions
of acquiring
and appor-
tioning
wealth

§ 149. In the normal family we have seen that the supply of wealth for domestic support is received through the head, or husband, until such time as the children are mature enough to gain independent incomes or assume other relations of dependence. As a matter of fact, we find great numbers of families in which wives and young children are occasionally or steadily engaged in social occupations, so that the total family income is received through several channels.

Labor of wife
and young
children

The abnormality of this condition is clear when we remember that domestic and social duties properly performed require the whole time and energy of the wife, and that the youthful members of the household, if they are to be rendered truly social, must be, during their earlier years, constantly under the influence of school, home, and appropriate recreation.

The family too
often fails to
supply its
members with
adequate
shares of
wealth

It is equally a part of the general family function to apportion to each member an amount of wealth in the form of clothing, food, and money sufficient for the needs of complete living. It is obvious that in a family which receives an inadequate income, such division is impossible, but there are large numbers of families which have no such excuse for limiting the shares of their members. A certain minimum is necessary for the proper nourishment and socialization of children. When this sum is trenched upon, even in the interests of thrift, a pathological condition is the result.

On the other hand, the lavish distribution of wealth among children is fraught with dangers hardly less than those which come from parsimony.

Illustrations

The laws regulating the labor of women and children, and the *crèches* or day nurseries in all large cities, are significant in relation to the family. Women go out to work for the day, often leaving domestic management to children who ought to be in school. Young boys and girls enter regular employments before they are physically or mentally

equipped for work. Genuine family life and the normal performance of functions in such circumstances is well-nigh impossible.

A recent comparison of conditions abroad and in the United States shows that workingmen's families here, in which both parents are living, display a very small per cent of income received through members other than the husband and father.

Those who have studied the condition of certain classes of city population report that many families, — chiefly Italians, — in spite of the fact that they may have acquired considerable wealth, maintain a low and squalid plane of life. It is against the perverted "thrift," which dwarfs children body and soul, for the sake of some future material gain, not against prudent saving, that the reformers declaim.

Perverted
thrift gives rise
to pathological
conditions

Nor is this habit of false economy, which lays up dollars at the expense of health, knowledge, beauty, and enlarged ideals of life, confined to the families of foreigners in city slums. There are too many well-to-do groups in which the ratio between expenditure and saving is abnormal.

But it is also true that, in a large number of households, the socialization of children is made difficult by extravagance. Rich men's sons are proverbially supposed to sow more "wild oats," and to display greater selfishness, pride, and arrogance than the sons of men in moderate circumstances. While such generalizations are always subject to many qualifications, they do embody a certain amount of truth.

Extravagance
of expenditure
also dangerous

§ 150. It follows from what has already been stated that a very large number of families are for various reasons, among which economic considerations are most conspicuous, unable to perform satisfactorily the fundamental task of securing the mental training and the æsthetic development of children, of disciplining them to the instinctive performance of certain social activities, of cultivating ethical conduct, and inspiring ideals of complete living. It is possible that the impoverished home of unremitting toil, and the household where rich, self-indulgent, careless parents are absorbed in business and in society, may offer, in themselves, almost equally unpropitious conditions for the training of truly social individuals. Of course, the wealth of the latter family commands the aid of the best

Pathology of
the function
of socializa-
tion

Many homes
unfit for the
training of
children

schools and tutors for intellectual training, but the general atmosphere of the home may have a most unfortunate influence upon the moral natures of the children.

Unsocial individuals forced into society

The lamentable fact cannot be denied, that thousands of homes are forcing into society ignorant, untrained, selfish, vicious, — in a word, unsocial, — individuals. Inasmuch as the family, in its most general aspect, is the link between one generation and the next, we see how sinister an element of inheritance is being transmitted. The shortcoming of one family may seriously affect several families of the generation which follows.

The responsibility of the family for vice, crime, and pauperism

The efforts which are being made to raise the standard of home life are directed toward the source of maladies which are wide-reaching and subtle in their influence throughout the whole social organism, and which perpetuate themselves for long periods, often with accumulated virulence. A heavy burden of responsibility for vice, crime, and pauperism rests upon the family for its failure through many generations to furnish normal individuals to society.

These trite observations are significant when we estimate the relation of the family to social health and disease.

Illustrations

The mill operative as a mother

The girl who, almost from infancy, has worked in a cotton mill, who has had no training in domestic tasks, and has been subjected to little or no discipline save that of manual dexterity, cannot, other things being equal, efficiently manage a home and rear children who will render the best social service of which they are capable. The abnormality of her family may affect several other families, which her children help to form.

A daughter of rich parents

Again, a girl born to great wealth may be so pampered and spoiled that she will be unfit to preside over a normal home and give direction to its activities.

Sons who have failed to receive proper training find it difficult, as a rule, to secure places in the social system, and as heads of families they fail to perform the duties which the best interests of society demand.

The child who is permitted to indulge appetite gravitates naturally toward vice. Absence of ethical standards in the family makes its members careless of truth and honesty in their relations with each other, and with society at large. Habits of improvidence and extravagance acquired in youth lead often to penury, want, and sometimes to dependence.

Indulgence
leads to vice

§ 151. In the normal family, parents live until children are mature enough and sufficiently equipped for independent existence. The death of either parent or both before such a point has been reached produces a manifestly pathological condition. Remarriage and the adoption or guardianship of orphans are means for restoring or replacing the complete family relation, but except in rare cases such expedients fail to secure normal results.

The mutilation of the family structure — death

When the head of the family dies without leaving an accumulation of wealth, the burden of support falls upon the wife — a condition manifestly pathological. If, however, an income is secured to the widow and her children, she is often able to maintain an approximately normal family life, although the absence of the husband's influence, especially upon the training of sons, may be greatly felt.

Economic conditions in their relation to mutilation of the family

§ 152. The psychical attraction which holds husband and wife in the family relation is, as has been shown before, (§ 82), reinforced by the function of propagation, and further, is supplemented by the external force of public opinion. In the normal family this relation is terminated only by death.

The dissolution of the family — divorce

It is a well-known fact, however, that many husbands and wives voluntarily abandon family life, either with or without formal social sanction through the courts, and it is only too probable that even more families preserve their coherence as a result of conventionality and habit rather than by bonds of sympathy and affection. Divorce is the expression of psychical antipathy due to a great

Many husbands and wives voluntarily abandon family life

variety of causes, from gross violation of ethical standards to that vague something known as "incompatibility." Divorce implies many of the pathological conditions that have been described; lack of proper discipline in the early life of the husband and wife, defects in domestic economy, parsimony, etc.

The significance of divorce

To admit that divorce is often expedient, is not to assert that it can ever be a normal condition. While it is comparable in a measure to the mutilation of the family by death, the effect upon children is likely to be far more injurious and the reaction upon society at large cannot fail to be harmful. The general function of the family is of such immense social significance that anything which tends to suggest an element of contingency in a relation for which the best interests of mankind demand permanency, is to be regarded as a symptom of disease.

The National Divorce Reform League

Chief credit for the scientific study in the United States of the phenomena of divorce, is due to Rev. Samuel W. Dike, of Boston, Secretary of the National Divorce Reform League. This organization, originated and largely directed by Dr. Dike, has done a most important work, although in an unobtrusive way, not only in promoting specific measures of reform, but in showing the relation of the problem to Sociology in general.

The student is advised to consult the publications of this society, as well as various review articles by its Secretary. Pamphlets and a bibliography may be obtained by addressing him at Auburndale, Massachusetts.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Standards of social normality in the village, town, or the city ward where the writer lives.
2. General pathological phenomena of the village, town, or city ward in which the writer lives.
3. Description, from observation, of a family whose condition must be regarded as pathological.
4. Observe the mode of living in a family whose abode consists of

one or two rooms, and trace all the apparent consequences of that limitation.

5. Observe a "tenement house," to discover what essentials of a normal home it fails to furnish.

6. Show in what particulars habitual absence of the head of the family from home, on long business trips, results, in an observed instance, in a pathological condition of the family.

7. Observe a family whose head uses the family domicile chiefly as a place for eating and lodging, and report upon the general condition of the family functions.

8. Observe the effects upon children of early consignment to the task of bread-winning, and show whether reasons appear for pronouncing their lot abnormal.

9. A study of the families with which the writer is familiar, to test the claim that the family is improperly abdicating to the school the function of education.

10. To what extent is it true, in any families with which the writer is familiar, that the church relieves the family of its normal functions?

11. To what extent are the authorities of the town where the writer lives relieving families of normal responsibility, and to what extent does it appear practicable to restore normal family functions?

12. What institutions are disturbing normal family functions among the well to do in a given community?

13. The movement for model tenements in large cities.

14. The plans and methods of the New England Kitchens in Boston.

15. The work of the National Divorce Reform League.

CHAPTER IV

THE PATHOLOGY OF SOCIAL ORGANS—CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL DISEASE

The pathology of social functions to be described

§ 153. Having briefly examined conditions of social disease as exhibited by the family, we now proceed, in accordance with our general plan, to regard society as an organic whole, and to inquire in what ways social functions are inefficiently performed by the special agencies to which they are intrusted. In the light of this survey and that of family pathology (Chapter III.), we shall then consider certain general characteristics of social diseases.

The relativity of judgments passed upon social conditions

Recalling what has been said about pathology in general (§ 141), we may here add another consideration as to the relativity of judgments which are passed upon social conditions. It is not inconceivable that certain arrangements, in themselves clearly abnormal, may be important factors in social progress. From the standpoint of the welfare of the whole organism, the existence of such phenomena may, in a sense, be justified. It is, however, one thing to show that diseased conditions lead to amelioration, reform, and a higher type of social life, and quite another to assert that such phenomena are, therefore, to be looked upon as organically normal.

Disease stimulates search for remedies

Again, it is not unscientific to pronounce certain manifestations unhealthful, even though adequate means for improvement and elimination may not be clearly available. It is none the less the physician's business to study disease, even

if he has no specific remedy. The conscious recognition of abnormal conditions stimulates search for suitable measures by which to modify social thought and feeling, and to effect social rearrangements.

In the view of certain social philosophers, the existence of poverty affords the requisite stimulus to effort on the part of the great majority of mankind. Thus, a condition clearly abnormal for the poor themselves is declared essential to social progress.

Illustrations
Poverty a
necessary
incentive

To a few thinkers crowded and unsanitary modes of life seem necessary to insure, through a high death rate, the limitation of population.

Again, the degradation of men into mere automatic feeders of machines is, in many quarters, regarded as a justifiable sacrifice of the individual to the progressive welfare of the total organism.

Sacrifice of
individuals to
society

The present widespread unrest among all classes is consequent upon a recognition of *prima facie* social diseases, an unwillingness to let them pass as essential economies of nature, and persistent, though too often mistaken, efforts to attain a higher and more complete life for individuals and for society.

The present
social unrest

§ 154. The distribution of population over the area of a given society is engaging the careful attention of sociologists. The notable growth of cities at the expense of rural districts is one of the conspicuous phenomena of the times. This tendency toward concentration of population in great urban groups is explained chiefly by the progress of industrial organization, but it is also due to minor causes, such as the monotony and dullness of country existence as compared with the stir and stimulus of city life, and the belief that, in some mysterious way, success is to be won more quickly and brilliantly in the latter sphere.

Pathology of
location and
settlement

Growth of
cities at the
expense of
rural districts

The fact that a large proportion of immigrants to the United States is trained for industrial pursuits, rather than for agriculture, accounts, in some measure, for the rapid growth of cities in this country.

Character of
immigrants to
the United
States

It is impossible to determine accurately the normal proportions in which any population should be distributed over

Social agencies fail to secure the best distribution of population

the area of occupation. It seems safe to say, however, that the present tendency has pathological aspects. The various agencies which have influence in determining the location of individuals and families, such as productive industries, transportation agents, governments, churches, educational institutions, newspapers, etc., are not perhaps doing what they might to secure a better distribution of population.

Bad municipal arrangements

But, whatever may be the failure in this regard, there is obvious neglect of social duty in permitting many of the conditions which exist in all our large cities (§ 147). Narrow streets and alleys, and the lack of conveniently located or adequate public parks, constitute unmistakable indictments of social arrangements of settlement.

General statements as to rural and city conditions of life

Without attempting any judgment as to the ideal proportion between rural and urban populations, a question complicated by a great number of varying natural, economic, and other conditions, we feel safe in asserting (1) that country or village life is, on the average, by no means normally interesting, stimulating, or complete, and (2) that town and city life with all its benefits is, for a large number of citizens, made unhealthful and demoralizing by the very fact of concentration.

Illustrations
Better roads

Agitation for better country roads is in the interest, not only of transportation, but of sociability. In many parts of the United States families are almost isolated for weeks together, because the highways are well-nigh impassable. The effort required by necessary journeys exhausts all desire to make expeditions for purposes of sociability.

Work for country ministers

Ministers who are eager for social service can do an important work in arousing rural communities to a fuller, richer, and more interesting intellectual and social life. It is unfortunate that the ablest men are, for the most part, unwilling to serve country parishes.

Domestic industries

The various societies for encouraging rural domestic manufactures in Ireland, Germany, and France are striving, perhaps against overwhelming economic odds, to counteract the tendency of workmen to concentrate about great factories in crowded centers.

Colonization schemes, such as those of the Salvation Army in England, and several societies in Germany and other countries, are efforts to relieve the congestion of population in great cities.

Colonization societies

The University Extension movement in England and the Chautauqua Reading Circles in the United States have done much to awaken, in country places, an interest in history, literature, science, and other of the higher forms of human activity.

Popular education in the country

In all large cities, earnest people are striving to improve the quarters of the poor, urging municipal action concerning unsuitable buildings and narrow streets, agitating for more parks and squares, and in many ways trying to change, by enlightened social action, arrangements long since outgrown and plainly harmful.

Efforts for city improvement

§ 155. We have seen that, in a compact society, the family largely surrenders to collective agencies the duty of defending its members against danger from fire, flood, disease, and unsocial persons. The government of a politically organized society, whether it be a city or a state, is chiefly charged with this function of defense, which it performs through firemen, policemen, health officers, building commissioners, and other agents. The efficiency of the service which this organ of government renders, depends upon the degree in which its agents recognize, in thought and act, their true relation to society. In so far as public opinion permits private interests to be preferred to collective good, the functions of government are, as a rule, ill performed. Or, again, provisions made by governments for a given purpose may be so inadequate that even the most conscientious officials cannot render the service properly.

Pathology of the function of defense

Government a social organ of defense

The conditions of governmental efficiency

In the organic conception government is a social organ, which, as regards most of its purely administrative functions, differs in no essential way from any other organ, such as a factory or railway. In the one, as in the other, individuals should be chosen for ability to render the requisite service, and for that reason only. Civil Service Reform is an effort to gain recognition for this conception.

Government in its executive aspect is to be regarded as like any other social organ

Illustrations

The working
of "machine"
politics in
American
cities

"Machine" politics in American cities furnish conspicuous examples of inefficient social service. Men, utterly unqualified by training or experience, are, by virtue of political "pulls," put into positions which demand technical skill, such as those of building commissioners, inspectors of public works, purchasing agents, and the like. Often some physician with more skill in politics than in practice is appointed to the board of health, and placed in charge of the sanitation of a great city, with an insufficient force of assistants, and a wholly inadequate appropriation.

Different kinds
of municipal
service
compared

In general, public opinion demands and secures a fairly honest and effective administration of the fire department. The police force is more open to suspicion, although outwardly it usually performs its service with considerable efficiency, and often meets a special emergency with marked success. As a rule, the street-cleaning and health departments are, for several reasons, — among which scanty appropriations must in justice be reckoned — woefully remiss in the performance of their duties. As a result, the city, especially in the tenement districts, is usually in a most unsanitary condition. The general hospital system is, for the most part, well organized, and capable of prompt and skillful service, but ordinarily the provisions for the isolation and care of contagious diseases are wholly insufficient, and are often hastily extemporized only after an epidemic has appeared.

Sanitation and
street cleaning
usually
neglected

Hospital
system

Pest houses

Food inspec-
tion

The inspection of milk, meats, fruit, and market produce generally, is too often perfunctory, if not characterized by positive corruption.

Sanitation
neglected in
rural com-
munities

In villages and rural communities, the dangers from defective sanitation are not so great, but the situation is rendered no less abnormal by the almost entire absence of public precautions (§ 147). The social function of defense, so far as disease is concerned, presents many pathological conditions.

Pathology of
the function
of production

§ 156. The economic activities of extraction, transformation, and transportation, technically described by the general term "production," display certain manifestly unhealthful characteristics which may be classed as follows: (1) dangerous forms of occupation, (2) labor of unsuitable persons, women and children, (3) wastes of competition, (4) ill-judged proportions of production, (5) adulterated and "shoddy" products, (6) industrial paralysis, panics, strikes, and lockouts.

It is unnecessary to deal abstractly with these phenomena, most of which belong properly to economic science. We may proceed at once to concrete statement.

Work in mines, on railways, on high buildings, in match factories, powder mills, rolling mills, etc., subjects laborers to constant danger. While it is true that all risk cannot, at least with present knowledge, be eliminated, there is no doubt that much more might be done to minimize the perils which daily threaten a vast number of workmen.

In all large cities, young boys are employed in varnishing picture frames, in feeding stamping machines, polishing cutlery, and in many other tasks dangerous to health. Little girls are kept busy as cash messengers for long hours in hot and crowded stores. Women, young and old, are hard at work with sewing machines, overtaxing their strength in ill-ventilated shops, tending looms in great factories, or standing for hours behind the counters of large stores. These are mere suggestions of the abnormal conditions which modern industry presents. They are recognized by the laws framed to regulate the labor of women and children, most of which, for certain reasons, are either dead letters or only half-enforced.

The wastes due to competition are conspicuous. In almost every town and city of the United States, two or more express companies maintain each an agent, an office, horses, wagons, and drivers. In many cases, one set of men and apparatus could easily render the service of all. A consolidation of express companies would evidently effect great economies in doing the same volume of business which is now done in the aggregate by rival corporations. Again, there has been a wasteful duplication of railway lines in this country, sometimes for genuine competition, sometimes for the purpose of stockjobbing. Even without the socialist to proclaim the irrationality of competition, the economic cost of industrial rivalry would be patent to any thoughtful observer of social activity. The "trust," the prominent feature of economic development to-day, represents primarily an effort to obtain the saving which unified management secures.

"Overproduction" describes, not the existence of more commodities than people would like to consume, but more than they can afford to buy at the price asked. As we have seen (§ 131), products must be offered in certain proportions to satisfy the need of society. If too much of one commodity, relatively to others, is produced, the demand for it will fall short of the supply, a surplus stock will remain or be

Illustrations

Dangerous conditions of labor

The labor of young boys, little girls, and women

Laws regulating such labor rarely enforced

The wastes from duplicating express services in the United States

Unnecessary duplication of railway lines

The "trust" primarily aims to save wastes of competition

The production of commodities in wrong proportions affects prices and labor

sacrificed at a low price, and the industry concerned will be affected. Industrial activity displays, along with highly organized means of information and communication, a constant series of miscalculations, which result in much vacillation of prices, and uncertainty in the employment of labor.

Adulterated food stuffs, shoddy goods of many kinds, hasty and careless workmanship, are familiar phenomena which need not be dwelt upon.

The commercial crisis of 1893

The popular analogy which likens panics to attacks of acute disease at stated intervals

As these lines are written the commercial crisis of the summer of 1893 is almost a contemporary event. Productive industries are even now suffering from its effects. A discussion of its causes is still carried on by politicians, journalists, and economists. A popular analogy likens panics to periodical attacks of sickness, which cause the social body acute suffering for a brief space; then follows a period of slow recuperation; next a restoration to health. After a time the lesson of the past is forgotten, indiscretion reappears, laws of Physiology are ignored, until finally another attack is precipitated, and another cycle is begun. Without attaching any other than illustrative significance to this description, we employ it to indicate the pathological nature of commercial crises, which are well worth the careful study of sociologists no less than of economists.

Great strikes in England and the United States

The great coal and dock strikes in England a few years ago, the railway strikes in this country in 1877, the present strike of the United Mine Workers of America, the lockout of the Danbury (Conn.) hat-ters during the past winter (1893-4), are only conspicuous illustrations of the warfare which is being constantly waged between employers and wage earners.

When a single organ suspends its function the whole social organism is affected

From the standpoint of the organic conception, strikes and lockouts are the suspension of functional activity, — a paralysis of certain social organs. Inasmuch as all social functions are, in a greater or less degree, interdependent, the suspension of one affects the whole organism. A railway strike, therefore, is not a concern merely of those immediately involved, but is of interest to society as a whole. When coal miners cease their labor, railways, factories, homes, are sooner or later affected. Industrial conflicts are the preëminently pathological features of the social sustaining and transporting systems.

Pathology of the function of distribution

§ 157. We have seen (§ 134) that the aggregate wealth of society is, as a rule, distributed among individuals in return for service rendered; and we may safely assert, as a

law of Social Physiology, that, *in a normal state of society, there is no wage without function*. Yet even this principle leaves undecided the all important question as to the relative amounts of wealth with which different services should be rewarded. A discussion of the laws of distribution must be left to the economist. It remains for us merely to indicate certain conditions which are clearly unhealthful, such as: (1) extremes of poverty; (2) illness of rich and poor; (3) gambling and speculation; (4) bribery and corruption; (5) stealing, fraud, and pandering to vice; (6) oppression of the economically weak.

A drive through the different quarters of any large city of the world affords a view of marked contrasts in material arrangements, which vary from luxurious palaces, broad avenues, and parks, to squalid tenements densely crowded in filthy districts. The people who live in these different dwellings are, as a rule, busy in countless ways producing the aggregate wealth of society. They receive widely varying shares, which enable some to enjoy every material good, and to attain high planes of physical, intellectual, æsthetical, and ethical life. Others obtain enough wealth with which to secure physical comfort and a normal development of their faculties; still others receive hardly more than suffices for mere animal existence. There is a growing conviction that such inequalities of distribution are abnormal, and the air is full of schemes for securing a more equitable division of wealth. The question is by no means so simple as socialistic reformers seem to believe; yet, these extreme contrasts cannot be set down as inevitable, and, therefore, perfectly natural and justifiable. The means for effecting a radical cure are certainly not clearly in sight; it may be that society is, after all, a hopelessly chronic invalid in this and other regards, but it is none the less the sociologist's duty to point out diseased conditions and to study them with patient care.

No wage
without
function

The sharp
contrasts of
wealth pre-
sented by a
great city

Some receive
large incomes

Others secure
adequate
means

Many gain
bare subsist-
ence

The question
of distribution
is complex in
the extreme

Although no
radical remedy
is clearly in
sight, the con-
ditions should
be studied

The idleness
of the poor
voluntary and
involuntary

When we apply the principle of *no wage without function* to different classes of individuals, we immediately see that idle, able-bodied paupers, tramps, etc., are receiving support from society without rendering any social service. If men are in idleness, enforced by industrial depression, the pathological condition is chargeable to defects in production.

The idleness of
the rich

Again, there are idle rich men and women who, by virtue of inheritance, landownership, and other socially sanctioned arrangements, are receiving large shares of wealth for which they make little or no return to society. Many wealthy persons are clearly rendering services of the highest importance. In the case of all idleness, especially that of the rich, hasty judgments should be carefully avoided. At first glance, the function of a rich man may easily be overlooked, and yet he may be playing an important part in the social organism. The socialists constantly err in making indiscriminate charges against propertied persons as such.

Dangers of
hastily judging
idleness, espe-
cially that
of the rich

Many persons
seek to secure
wealth by
resorting to
chance

Many individuals are seeking to secure shares of wealth not solely or even partially by performing social tasks, but by appealing to chance, by gaming, betting, purchasing lottery tickets, or taking other hazards dignified in conventional phrases as commercial speculations, yet none the less, in principle, attempts to "get something for nothing," to secure wage without performing function. The whole gambling system is plainly a diseased condition, which not only affects the function of distribution, but demoralizes individuals and seriously impairs their usefulness in industrial and other social service. Wholesale denunciation of stock and produce exchanges will be avoided by the careful observer of society. There is a necessary function (§ 107) which, however it may eventually be performed, is now discharged by these agencies. Effort should be made to discriminate between

Necessity of
discriminating
between the
proper func-
tion of the ex-
change and
mere specula-
tion

transactions which are approximately normal, and others that are clearly demoralizing.

By methods of bribery and other corrupt influences, individuals and corporations divert to themselves shares of wealth which properly belong to others. The governmental system which exercises great social powers is too often prostituted to the interests of ambitious, selfish, and unscrupulous citizens.

Stealing, robbing, fraud, catering to vicious passions, are fully recognized as antisocial means of securing shares of the aggregate wealth and services of society.

The fact that means of production and raw materials in society are held as the property of a comparatively small number of persons who need the assistance of the great majority in order to produce wealth, and the physical necessity which compels the latter to depend for support on the former, create, in production, mutual interdependence, but in distribution give rise to antagonism of interests. Laborers combine in unions, the better to assert themselves in the struggle with employers; but sewing women, shop girls, sweat-shop toilers, etc., generally unorganized and pressed for food and shelter, are compelled to accept a miserable pittance for long hours and confining labor. The outrageous advantages which pawnbrokers often take of the necessities of the poor are well known.

Wealth is diverted to individuals by bribery and corruption

The mutual interdependence and the antagonistic interests of employers and wage earners

Many laborers organize into unions for self-protection
Others are weak in the labor market

The following quotation from Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Marcella* bears upon the problem of the "idle rich." (The heroine is talking with Frank Leven, a rich young English landowner, who, disappointed in love, proposes to travel in the United States): —

"'You,' said Marcella, 'go to California! What right have you to go to California?'

* * * * *

"'Well, a fellow can't do nothing,' he said helplessly. 'I suppose I shall shoot.'

Illustrations

A side light from Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Marcella*

“‘And what right have you to do it? Have you any more right than a public official would have to spend public money in neglecting his duties? . . . But one thing I am sure of, that unless people like you are going to treat their lives as a profession, to take their calling seriously, there are no more superfluous drones, no more idle plunderers, than you in all civilized society.’”

The institutions which represent and foster the gaming habit

Gambling dens, private games, bucket shops, “pool rooms,” book making at horse races, lotteries, and many kinds of operations on the floor of the exchange, are a constant menace to society, and give evidence of a widespread social malady. The papers are filled with accounts of embezzlements, petty thieving, etc., on the part of men, boys, and often even of women, who, through gambling, have lost their proper relation to society.

The corrupt granting of municipal franchises in the United States

It is a notorious fact that in the United States, city councils are bribed by corporations to grant franchise for gas service, rapid transit, etc., upon terms which can often be described as robbery of the municipality. The great railway companies have relations with state legislatures which are many times scandalous in the extreme. One of the temptations, too seldom resisted by modern “trusts,” is to maintain exclusive control of a given industry, even if it be necessary to corrupt legislatures, government officials, a certain class of newspapers, and other social organs. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that corporations are constantly subjected to the attacks of unscrupulous politicians, journalists, and miscellaneous blackmailers against whom they feel compelled to protect themselves by methods often dubious.

The relation of corporations and “trusts” to legislatures and officials

The sweat-shop system in England and the United States

The “labor problem” is too large for concrete illustration here, even if it were not so generally familiar. The investigations of sweat shops in London, New York, Boston, and Chicago have, in recent years, brought to light conditions of oppression, which, although in a measure due to excessive competition, cannot be satisfactorily attributed to that cause alone. It is very obvious that “sweaters,” contractors, and large manufacturers form a series which takes advantage of the almost defenseless condition of a large number of wretched human beings.

The extortions of pawn-brokers

The *Mont de Piété* in Paris, and the loan offices now being established in New York, are efforts to afford the poor opportunities to borrow at reasonable rates of interest.

The pathology of the function of education

§ 158. The intellectual and æsthetic training of the young is chiefly intrusted to social organs, schools, colleges, and universities. A discussion of the shortcomings of educa-

tional systems belongs properly to Pedagogics. We may here enumerate the more patent defects in the educational function, chiefly as it is performed in the United States: (1) large numbers of incompetent teachers, (2) conventional and unscientific courses of study, (3) wrong methods of instruction, (4) inadequate provision for urban school populations, (5) only brief schooling for large numbers, (6) lack of unity and coördination in the educational system as a whole. We do not offer any judgment as to the prevalence of these pathological conditions, but simply suggest them as important phenomena.

The chief defects enumerated

As a result of the faults above mentioned, we find widespread inefficiency in society. Vast numbers of people are unable to see things as they are, to describe them accurately in precise language, to reason clearly. They are untrustworthy "end organs," and communications which they mediate are likely to be distorted (§ 102). Again, many professional schools send out men and women who are ill-equipped for social functions which they perform but indifferently well.

The effects of failures in education as observed in society

Æsthetic education is by no means so general as intellectual training, but we need only examine contemporary architecture, or observe the pictures in the average home, or listen to "popular" music, to realize that there is much still to be desired in this regard.

Much to be desired in æsthetic development

A recent series of articles in *The Forum* on the public schools of the chief American cities throws light on our public school system. The author of the *Forum* papers, Dr. J. M. Rice, visited personally the schools which he describes. Without expressing any judgment as to the thoroughness of his inspection, we may remark that the pictures which he draws of ignorant, tactless teachers, wonderful "systems" and "methods," and befogged pupils would be ludicrous if they were not so seriously significant. The deplorable influence of the vicious political system which has already been mentioned is largely responsible in many cities for the inefficiency of teachers, who are often chosen

A recent examination of the condition of city schools in the United States

Influence of politics

Brief periods of schooling and premature forcing of children into industry

for political reasons rather than because of fitness. School statistics of one of our large cities show that the average period of attendance in certain schools, chiefly patronized by the poor, is somewhat less than two years. In the same city children in many districts attend school for only half of each day, because there is room for only half the school population.

Coördination of educational curricula in Germany, France, and the United States

Efforts are being made in several quarters to bring institutions of the primary, the secondary, and the higher education into more intimate relations, so as to form one progressive curriculum from the lowest grade up to the special studies of the university. In Germany and France, this coördination has reached a point of high efficiency. In Michigan and Wisconsin, a system has been adopted which brings a large part of public instruction into orderly relations with the state universities at Ann Arbor and Madison, respectively.

Pathology of the function of communication

§ 159. Although the phenomena of communication have already been described, by implication at least, and will be further considered in Book V., it is appropriate to call attention at this point to certain defects in the function of transmitting psychical impulses (Bk. III., Chap. IV.). The general newspaper press falls far short of normal service, (1) in reporting fact, (2) in giving direction to public opinion, (3) in the form and contents of information communicated.

Some defects of the press

Debasing influence of certain forms of literature, art, and the drama

Much literature, especially fiction of a *bizarre* or suggestive character, gives currency to ideas which stimulate lower forms of thought and feeling. In a like manner, art and the drama frequently communicate impulses which result in diseased states of mind and in unsocial conduct.

The press is careless and inaccurate in reporting facts

Although the modern press is so highly organized (§ 106), it generally fails to report events, public utterances, etc., with accuracy. This is due usually, not to intentional misrepresentation, but to the carelessness, the inefficiency, or "enterprize" of reporters and correspondents, who, in their eagerness to outstrip rivals, or to make readable, sensational "copy," give slight heed to the real facts involved. The

average newspaper as a reporter of reality is the old-time gossip in print.

Again, partisanship, self-interest, sometimes actual corruption, lead newspapers to distort facts to suit their peculiar purposes, or in editorial comment to make inductions, to point morals, and to urge actions which are wholly unwarranted in the premises. To gain from the average modern newspaper a knowledge of social activities as they really are, a new art is required.

Influences
which lead the
press to mis-
represent
reality

The reporting of murder and divorce trials, brutal crimes and debasing manifestations of vice, is done too often in such a way as to sully unnecessarily the thought of a whole nation, and to counteract the ethical stimulus which comes from the contemplation of evil in all its hideousness or when condignly punished.

Crimes and
vices too often
reported in a
contaminating
fashion

Let it be clearly understood that, in these statements, we do not for a moment mean to fix sole or ultimate responsibility for these defects upon the press itself.

The press not
to be held
solely or
ultimately
responsible

The subtle and dangerous influence of sentimental, highly romantic, and erotic literature is recognized by many reformers who are making strenuous efforts to protect young minds against its contamination.

Vicious litera-
ture

Suggestive pictures and plays are a constant menace to society, as a source of psychical changes in individuals, which, finding outward expression in ill health and vice, affect the whole organism from the family to the state.

Questionable
pictures and
plays

§ 160. It has been pointed out (§ 140) that the existence and progress of society depend upon appropriate individual conduct and efficient social coöperation. It is obvious that actual conditions fall far short of this ideal. We have seen that many families (§ 150), failing in the all-important function of socializing the young, thrust untrained, undisciplined, unsocial individuals into society.

Pathology of
the function
of discipline
and control

Failure of the
family to
socialize
individuals

The schools and churches cannot reach large numbers, and themselves display defects

The schools, even when they can control these persons for a time, are usually unable to give them effective ethical ideals. The churches, which so powerfully supplement the activities of normal homes, fail to exert any direct influence upon vast numbers of only half-socialized people. Moreover, the teachers of religion, in too many instances, do not grasp realities, but, by conventional creeds and theological systems, spread conceptions of life which do not issue in the most social forms of conduct.

Society as the result of many causes contains unsocial persons who must be coerced

As a result of many causes which have been hinted at in the course of this and the preceding chapter, society contains large numbers of individuals who are unadapted to social life. It becomes necessary for the controlling system, therefore, not merely to indicate to such persons appropriate lines of conduct, but to coerce them when they refuse to comply with social requirements. The normal function of coördination, *i.e.* the ordering of the coöperation in which good citizens voluntarily take part, exhibits many pathological states of compulsion, fine, imprisonment, and, in certain extreme cases, destruction of unsocial individuals. The phenomena of morality and law, which are here involved, will be discussed in Book V.

Coördination, primarily the direction of willing individuals, exhibits much compulsion

Illustrations

The function of the church exhibits certain pathological conditions

The relation of the church to social questions is at present under active discussion. Such partial or mistaken conceptions as that this world is merely an ordeal through which one must pass unscathed to attain a life of future happiness; that apparently unjust social arrangements are to be accepted passively as divinely ordained means for testing character; that all such inequalities will be duly readjusted in an eternal kingdom hereafter; the implied, if not actually expressed, belief that the poor and sick are primarily designed to develop the virtues of the well to do and comfortable; the assertion that this world is altogether evil; the division of activities into "secular" and "religious,"—all these ideas, and many others, have prevailed in the past, and still exert large influence upon the thought and conduct of great numbers of people.

It is a mistake to regard executive government as solely or even chiefly a coercing power. We have seen that society must be coördinated and controlled, even although all its members are ready to conform their conduct with social regulations. A simple illustration will serve to make this clearer.

The London policemen are famous for their management of "traffic" on the streets. "The Strand," crowded with vehicles of all kinds, is almost never blockaded. The policemen confine the two streams of travel to their proper sides of the street, check the flow of one thoroughfare for a moment, while a cross current is given right of way, and so prevent those congestions of drays, cabs, street cars, etc., which often clog for several minutes the streets of lower New York. When drivers refuse to obey the commands of the police, however, they are promptly dealt with, and generally induced to conform in future to social regulations. The phenomena of crime and punishment constitute pathological conditions of the highest importance.

Government is not solely or even chiefly a coercive power; it is a coördinating agency

The London police and the traffic on "the Strand"

§ 161. Society exhibits not only diseased conditions, but curative or ameliorative agencies as well. The social organism is constantly striving to heal itself. We discover countless organic groups devoted to some service in the interest of improved social health. These agencies are in part related directly to the state, but in large measure are the result of private initiative. The study of these remedial efforts, their successes and failures, constitutes a special department of Sociology. Nowhere is the need for scientific principles of social procedure more conspicuous than in remedial efforts.

Remedial social organs

Society is constantly trying to improve itself

Hospitals, asylums for the insane, reformatories, homes for orphans, widows, and the aged, institutions for reclaiming fallen women, cheap lodging houses, coffee rooms, relief workshops, loan offices for the poor, societies for suppressing vice, for encouraging colonization, for placing orphaned or deserted children in suitable homes, for encouraging village and city ward improvements, for promoting Civil Service Reform, for regulating or prohibiting the liquor traffic, for securing better tax systems, etc., are a few of the agencies now at work with the aim of bettering social conditions.

Illustrations

Various organic efforts at amelioration, correction, and prevention

Some general characteristics of Social Pathology

Pathological phenomena present a high degree of complexity

Responsibility for social disease cannot be fixed in any one organ

Pathological phenomena are often incidental rather than essential

Preventive measures are more scientific and effective than attempts at alleviation or cure

§ 162. We may fittingly conclude this superficial survey of Social Pathology with certain in-luitions which will be found of practical value in planning methods of reform, or in judging schemes which are already in operation.

(1) *Pathological phenomena present a high degree of complexity.* It follows, from the very nature of social structures and functions, which are bewilderingly interdependent, that diseases of arrangements and activities will betray equal complexity. All attempts to attribute a social malady to one cause, to trace it to a single source, are *prima facie* superficial. A single reform measure which is warranted to cure all social ills is to be suspected as essentially unsound. It is, therefore, unscientific to fix ultimate responsibility for a given evil in any one place, or upon a single social organ. The responsibility, when analysis is approximately complete, will be distributed over a large area, and will rest upon a great number of individuals in the past and the present, *i.e.* upon institutions which represent the personal elements of many generations.

(2) *Pathological phenomena are often incidental rather than essential.* Indiscriminate condemnation of existing social arrangements and activities is to be carefully avoided. To attack an institution as such which is really performing social service, simply because in certain respects abuses and injustices have attached themselves to it, is the part of blindness and folly. The rational reformer seeks to correct the faults, not to destroy what, as a part of the essential economy of life, will persist in spite of his attacks. Efforts to oppose natural law are a sad waste of energy.

(3) *Preventive measures are more scientific and effective than attempts at alleviation or cure.* This familiar principle is as fundamental as it is trite. When, as we have pointed out above, responsibility for a given social malady has been distributed, with such justice as careful analysis and study of

facts render possible, among existing agencies and individuals, the various tangible sources of the trouble are in this way indicated. Measures for aiding these organs to render gradually improved service until they attain approximately normal activity, constitute a scientific method of reform. Efforts for relief and alleviation are not, of course, to be disparaged except in so far as they take the place of more radical and permanent methods, or divert attention from them.

Careful distribution of responsibility discovers the sources of social disease

(4) *Genuine reforms, in the nature of things, work gradually, not rapidly.* Just as single sweeping measures are to be suspected, so plans which promise speedy regeneration are to be looked at askance. The character of social growth (§ 114) is determined by the gradual readjustment of social structures and functions to changes in the common body of social ideas. With rare exceptions, which in themselves are only superficially such, the modification of thought and feeling is effected slowly, and makes marked progress only in long periods. Since radical reforms are, in their nature, growths from unhealthful to normal conditions, they must conform to the same law of progress. *Festina lente* should be the motto of the scientific physician of society.

Genuine reforms, in the nature of things, work gradually, not rapidly

As an example of the first proposition let us analyze in partial outline the "social evil." There are those who deal with the problem in this simple fashion: The brothel is responsible for abnormal relations of the sexes; let it be abolished, and the evil will thus be stamped out. This observation and proposal are at once superficial and irrational. While the institution, as such, undoubtedly spreads contamination, it is, primarily, not a cause, but an effect. Evil thoughts and desires which permeate society find expression in this place; ignorance and poverty have had a part in providing it with inmates; ill-kept and cheerless homes have sent visitors hither; an impulse toward sociability, obscured, perhaps, by baser motives, has induced friendless and homeless men to frequent this house. Again, tracing responsibility a step farther, we see that vile books and pictures, thinly disguised ad-

Illustrations

A partial analysis of the causes which find expression in the existence of a brothel

They ramify throughout the whole social organism

The theater and the stock exchange are each attacked as utterly vicious

Some methods of prevention, which in principle, at least, are in harmony with sociological law

Reforms which begin with the young cannot show immediate results

The relation of the individual and the family to Social Pathology restated

vertisements in the newspapers, contact with low companions, have helped to develop appetites disproportionately; that low wages and the pinch of poverty have driven girls to sell themselves to lives of shame; that careless or unsocial parents have neglected to rear children with habits of self-control and ethical ideals; that other fathers and mothers, with false ideas of modesty, have kept their children in an ignorance, which, for girls especially, has too often been fatal; and so these influences might be traced in almost endless ramifications throughout society. Enough has been said to show that the problem is so far from being simple, that it seems almost hopelessly complex.

In illustration of the second statement, we merely suggest such conditions as are presented by the theater (§ 142), the ball (§ 157), or the stock exchange (§ 142). These social arrangements are attacked indiscriminately by many people. We do not deem it necessary to discuss the matter in detail, or to pass judgment upon any of these questions. It is enough to indicate possibilities of analysis.

Thirdly, the efforts of the temperance reformers to have temperance lessons taught in the public schools, and to influence home instruction and example; the establishment of kindergartens in towns and cities; the founding of working girls' clubs and coöperative homes:—all such attempts to anticipate dangers and to strengthen individual character to avoid them, are, in principle, at least, thoroughly in harmony with sociological law.

As to the fourth conclusion, it is clear, for example, that no remedies which seek to influence the young can be expected to show appreciable results until the rising generation shall have begun to take an active part in social activities, and for this, time must elapse. Again, as we have seen, social arrangements tend to resist change (§ 114). Diseased structures are no exception to this rule, and can be modified only by a slow process of growth, stimulated and directed by enlightened efforts.

§ 163. The analysis of social disease which has occupied this and the preceding chapter serves throughout to make more and more clear a perception that cannot be too often emphasized. It is that the individual, the social unit or cell, is the ultimate, tangible source of the maladies which afflict the social organism. We do not assert that the individual is to be held solely responsible for his shortcomings, for we

fully recognize the reaction of abnormal arrangements upon him (§ 144). It is obvious, however, that if all individuals were normal, the structures and functions of society would tend to readjust themselves into a state of health.

The individual the ultimate source of all social maladies, although not solely responsible

While the rational social reformer will make every effort, therefore, to modify abnormal institutions so far as such changes can be maintained by psychical force—public opinion—he will expend his chief energies upon the individual, with the object of normally developing in him the latent elements of complete personal and social life.

Inasmuch as the family (§ 124) is the organ to which the socialization of individuals is intrusted, we must again emphasize the fundamental nature of the social service which this primary group renders. Almost every social ill may be traced directly or indirectly to failures of the family in the more or less remote past. However attempts at alleviation may be compelled to address themselves to other institutions, scientific social healing will aim to influence the individual by increasing the efficiency of the family.

The fundamental service of the family again emphasized

Society as a whole displays diseased conditions, which, however compatible with social progress and apparently incurable, should, nevertheless, be pointed out. The states of ill health are due in large measure to frequent failures of social organs to secure normal arrangements of settlement, to afford due protection against danger, to produce wealth of suitable kinds in proper proportions and under safe conditions, to distribute wealth with equity among members of society, to give individuals adequate intellectual and æsthetic training, to communicate with accuracy the proper kind of ideas and impulses, and to render individuals capable of voluntary and intelligent coöperation. Remedial organs exist to correct in some degree these faults. Certain general characteristics of social diseases are next stated. (1) They are very complex, (2) they are often incidental rather than essential,

Summary

(3) they are more easily prevented than cured, (4) they can be eradicated only by a slow process. In conclusion, the fundamentally important nature of the family in relation to social maladies is pointed out.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. A study of the extra hazardous employments in the writer's town.
2. The influence of bad country roads on land values, commerce, sociability, and emigration to cities.
3. A study of the police department in a city with which the student is familiar.
4. A review of the work of the fire department for the last administrative year in a city known to the writer.
5. A review of the work of the health department in a given city.
6. A study of rich men known to the student, and an enumeration of their functions. Is an "idle rich" man discoverable among them?
7. A review of the work of the street-cleaning department in a given city.
8. An analysis of the causes which admit ill-trained teachers to the public schools.
9. A study of a daily newspaper for a period of several days to determine its failures in accurate reporting of local affairs.
10. Is the "institutional" church a sign of normal or pathological social conditions?
11. A study of the industrial wastes of the community in which the writer lives.
12. A study of the quarters of the poor in a given community.
13. A study of the business methods of pawnbrokers and installment companies in a given town or city.
14. The effect of suppression upon the "social evil," and a criticism of that remedy.

BOOK V

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE PHENOMENA OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN GENERAL

§ 164. Statements, allusions, and implications throughout the first four books of this manual have prepared the way for the assertion that all the phenomena of society find their explanations in psychical force. Social structures are preserved (§ 113) and collective activities are carried on by this agency (§ 112). It is the psychical potencies of society, knowledge, taste, and criteria of conduct, which persist and constitute the real life of the organism (§ 113). Material structures, technical devices, groupings of individuals, conduct, private and public, are simply the expression in tangible things, or in visible actions, of these mysterious forces.

The vital principle of society is psychical force

Tangible and visible social arrangement an expression of psychical influences

The student of society, therefore, must penetrate mere outward manifestations, and seek to learn the nature of the influences which lie back of them. He must inquire whether such phrases as "social consciousness," "public opinion," "popular will," describe actual phenomena, or merely serve the purposes of the rhetorician. Again, if realities of this kind are discovered, the sociologist must endeavor to determine the laws of coexistence and sequence which they exhibit.

In view of the fundamental importance of psychical phenomena, it is by no means strange that many social philosophers are inclined to limit the scope of Sociology to the consideration of such manifestations only. Without at-

Many would limit Sociology to the study of psychical phenomena

tempting at present to draw any hard and fast lines in the general field of the social sciences, we would emphasize the peculiarly important character of the considerations involved in the psychical nature of society. To the examination of these questions this division of our volume will be devoted.

Social
Psychology
is Super-
psychology,

since it is
composed of
the products
of Individual
Psychology

§ 165. To avoid confusion of thought, we must, at the outset, distinguish clearly between (1) *Psychology*, which gives an account of mind as we know it in the individual, and (2) *Social Psychology*, which describes the phenomena that result from the combination and reaction of the cognitions, emotions, and volitions of associated individuals. Inasmuch as the latter manifestations are a higher integration of the products of Individual Psychology, they may be said to form the subject-matter of a *Super-psychology* or an *Ultra-psychology*.

Schäffle and
De Greef have
elaborated
analogies
between
Individual
and Social
Psychology

Just here it should be remarked that the existence of phenomena other than those of Individual Psychology, is seriously questioned by many, who assert that, since there is no social brain, and since all thinking is, in final analysis, done by individuals, the term "Social Psychology" is sheer juggling with words. Schäffle and De Greef, who, in somewhat different ways, have elaborated analogies between Individual and Social Psychology, have been the objects of no little ridicule. It must be owned that their efforts often give evidence of artificial and forced parallelism; yet the open-minded reader will be convinced that these European sociologists have pointed out phenomena in society which differ essentially from those of individual mental activity.

It is difficult to
demonstrate
logically the
existence
of Super-
psychology

It is useless to deny the difficulty of demonstrating logically the existence of social, as distinguished from individual, knowledge, feeling, and willing. The question at issue may be stated thus: is public opinion, for example, anything different from the arithmetical sum of the opinions of the

individuals who compose the society, or do these many opinions mutually modify each other, and result in a common conviction which may differ in some degree from that of every person involved? We believe that a careful consideration of facts will convince the student that social knowledge is something other than the mere addition of the impressions of individuals; that the standards of conduct of a given community are peculiar combinations of personal codes, which may vary widely from the former. The fact that social knowledge is apprehended by individual minds, that there is no social brain corresponding to the sensorium of an animal organism, does not discredit the existence of the phenomena we have mentioned. Without attempting at the outset to convince the student that the assertions implied above are statements of reality, we proceed to concrete illustration, in the belief that the truth will appear gradually clearer, as the discussion advances.

It appears gradually clearer from inspection of phenomena

A lithographer prepares a dozen stones, from each of which, in succession, he prints a single tint, or color, of a given shape. The separate impression from each stone has, therefore, a form and hue of its own. But, when the twelve impressions have been superimposed upon the same paper, a picture with definite outlines, varied shades and tints, appears as something quite different from each component part. In similar fashion, many photographic negatives, each of a different person, may be printed one over another, until a "composite portrait" has been produced, which is easily distinguished from any of the likenesses which helped to form it.

Lithography and composite photography suggest an analogy

In a way broadly analogous to the mechanical processes just described, the thoughts of individuals combine to form a product different in some degree from each of its elements. Social Psychology is concerned, as it were, with complete lithographs and composite photographs.

Illustrations

A party of
tourists
compare
experiences
which vary
widely,

but combine to
form a total
impression
quite different
from that of
each individual

A unanimous
opinion is
reached by a
committee,
after discus-
sion

The mob spirit
carries away
ordinarily self-
restrained
citizens

A number of friends have, at different times, made the journey of the Rhine. They meet casually, after their return, and talk about the experiences and impressions of this trip. Each tourist viewed the same scene from his own standpoint, and carried away a mental picture, with which certain emotions of pleasure or discomfort are associated. The conversation is animated. Conflicting assertions, playful jests, earnest pleas, mingle thick and fast. One traveler grows rapturous over vine-clad hills; another complains of his wretched dinner and of the steamboat waiter who tried to sell him a bottle of wine every time they came abreast of a castle; a poetic enthusiast describes his emotions as he passed the home of the Lorelei; a student of history fancied he saw the Roman legions again patrolling the ancient frontier; still another tourist expresses disappointment at the color of the storied stream. It is clear that a listener who has never seen the Rhine gains an impression quite different from that of any of the speakers, and it is equally true that each traveler unconsciously modifies his own mental picture so that it includes, in some measure, the views of his friends. This final product, this peculiar integration of many personal impressions, which, in turn, reacts upon individual consciousness, is a phenomenon of Social Psychology.

A committee charged with some important decision holds a meeting. It is conceivable that each member has a definite plan of action which he thinks should be carried out. A full discussion takes place. Each person expresses an opinion. Questions are asked and answered; objections are raised; suggestions are offered; statements of fact are made. At last a unanimous — a *one-minded* — decision is reached. It differs, in a greater or less degree, from the original idea of each member of the body; it is an organized, unified product, not a mere addition of individual convictions.

A vast meeting of respectable citizens is held, under great excitement, to express indignation over an outrageous crime. A speaker relates the details of the atrocious act; individual imaginations and feelings are stimulated and aroused; low mutterings, threats, and sinister suggestions are heard here and there; a contagion seems to spread through the gathering. Suddenly a man cries, "Lynch him!" In an instant the citizens are a howling mob, animated by a spirit which is foreign to each individual, yet dominates him for the time. The crowd rushes for the jail, and the prisoner is dragged forth and hung by citizens who are usually law-abiding. Here are phenomena which are something more than those of Individual Psychology.

§ 166. Having indicated, in a general way, the nature of the phenomena with which Social Psychology is concerned, let us inquire of what the psychological resources of society, at a given moment, consist. They are of three kinds, which may be broadly distinguished as (1) knowledge, (2) standards of judgment, and (3) potential volitions. If we conceive of society as suddenly stopped in its course as a clock might be, we can gain a clearer idea of the phenomena, which in reality are undergoing constant change.

The phenomena peculiar to Social Psychology

Assuming, therefore, a temporary state of stable equilibrium in society, we discover a mass of knowledge concerning the solar system, the physical and chemical properties of matter, the formation of the earth, the laws of animal life, the history of the human race, the thoughts and emotions of men. This great body of knowledge is the product of contributions made by countless individuals through many centuries. It is expressed in a great variety of symbols (§ 103), in tools, implements, writing, pictures, printed books, in statues, and in buildings. Much of it is the possession of individual memories, yet the whole is so vast that a single mind could never compass, in detail, more than a small fraction of it. Again, this knowledge is not a mere accumulation of isolated observations and impressions of individuals in the past. It is a coördination and consolidation of all such contributions; it is manifestly a product of a higher order, and may properly be described as social knowledge or social memory.

Society supposed to be for a time in stable equilibrium

Social knowledge not a mere accumulation of the impressions of individuals

Just as observations and thoughts of individuals have been combined into social knowledge, so the feelings and judgments of innumerable social units have been, during the lapse of ages, progressively organized and reorganized into social feelings and judgments, which, often differing in a marked manner from the personal codes of individuals, sur-

Individual feelings and judgments organized into social products

vive from the past, or find present expression in manners, customs, public opinion, and laws.

The common will

Once more, individuals largely influenced by social knowledge and standards, æsthetic and ethical, will to perform certain acts. It is manifestly necessary that in many things the wills of individuals should be coördinated or combined into a general volition; otherwise, chaos and conflict would be the result. We discover, therefore, that there is a social will which is the product of individual volitions, although it may differ from each of them. Political elections afford a more or less crude method of determining the common will in large societies, while conferences, discussions, and other forms of psychical contact serve the same purpose in smaller groups. At a given instant countless social volitions are formed, ready to find expression in appropriate action.

Elections a crude method of determining the social will

Social knowledge, feeling, and willing undergoes constant modification

So much for the psychical potentialities of society in a hypothetical state of suspended animation. In reality, social knowledge is undergoing constant expansion and modification. Social feelings and judgments are, in consequence, ever changing, while social volitions in turn are, as a result, taking new forms and directions. The phenomena presented by this process of growth are peculiar to Social Psychology, and the study of them constitutes our present task.

Illustrations

The history of the development of any of the sciences illustrates admirably the formation of social knowledge. Each generation has modified and added to the work of its predecessor, until to-day facts are arranged in coherent and organized form, subject, however, to unwearied contemporary and future revision. If a text-book on Physics were simply a chronological list of individual observations and conclusions, — *i.e.* an arithmetical sum of such results, — it would offer only the products of Psychology; but presenting, as it does, these results combined into an organized body of observed reality, it is social knowledge in symbolic form. Social feelings and judgments as to extreme kinds of conduct are definitely expressed in legal enactments. Manifestly unsocial acts, such as crimes against persons and property, are in ordi-

A text-book not a collection of isolated individual impressions, but a body of organized social knowledge

nary circumstances severely reprobated. But there is much conduct about which social judgments vary. A man may consciously hold himself to a code higher than that of society, or he may fall below the social standard. Some men in business refuse to take part in transactions which the general conscience justifies, while too many pursue methods which society distinctly disapproves. The social will may be determined in many ways. The committee described on page 308 represented at first several different wills which, by discussion and conference, were united into a single volition. Voting, and the supremacy of the majority as a method of forming a common will, is less satisfactory than is generally supposed; for the minority do not, as a rule, acquiesce in the decision, and their will is unrepresented in the general result.

Individuals may consciously differ in their criteria of conduct from social standards

In the results of elections the will of the minority is unrepresented

§ 167. We have seen that the observations, reflections, and volitions of individuals combine to produce social knowledge, judgment, and will. It is further to be remarked that these products react upon social units with such constraining influence, that it is not hard to understand why certain philosophers call in question the "freedom of the will."

The reaction of social psychical forces upon individuals

Language, the chief vehicle of psychical force, is, in itself, a determining factor. Each individual acquires in some measure the use of this means of communication. Much as a tool or implement directs and limits manual labor, so language conditions in greater or less degree the mode, as well as the formal expression, of individual thought. To change the figure, language offers molds, as it were, in which the ideas of men are largely run. Conventionality of thought is nothing more than slavery to well-worn ways of expression. The trite phrase, "inadequacy of language," describes the consciousness that ideas encounter limitations in the symbols of speech. The formulas of systematic logic afford an exact method of thinking, to which individual minds must submit themselves. The very machinery of social communication, therefore, tends to secure a certain vague uniformity of mental processes, and to influence in a marked manner the course of individual thought.

Language as a vehicle of psychical force largely determines the mode of individual thought

"Inadequacy of language"

The machinery of communication tends to produce a certain uniformity

Individual knowledge is of two kinds: (1) personal, (2) social, of which the second largely predominates

Social knowledge and judgments reach the consciousness of the individual almost exclusively through the medium of language, and become a part of his thought and feeling in a somewhat stereotyped form. The knowledge possessed by a social unit is primarily of two kinds: (1) the result of his own observations, and (2) the fraction of social knowledge which has been communicated to him. It is obvious that in the case of even comparatively unintelligent persons the element of social knowledge, appropriated in various ways through symbols, tools, and discipline, is by far the larger. More highly educated individuals possess a greatly preponderating proportion of social knowledge, into which they incorporate the results of their own observations and impressions. The knowledge of individuals, therefore, is not a personal product, but, in a very large degree, an acquisition from the resources of society. The individual believes not merely the results of his own sensations and cognitions, but accepts on faith a vast body of social knowledge.

Individuals accept social standards of feeling and judgment

Moreover, social knowledge is closely related to social feeling and judgment, and it is obvious that with such knowledge the individual acquires social standards and opinions; he not only accepts the collective information, but he largely acquiesces in social estimates of what is good and what is bad, and experiences emotions common to larger or smaller groups of which he may be a member. In a similar way his volitions are influenced by the common will, and his overt acts are brought into more or less orderly relations with those of his fellows.

Illustrations

The communication of social knowledge

Education is, in one aspect, the communication of social knowledge to individual minds. A chief function of the press is to diffuse social knowledge, which influences individual thought and conduct. The pupil must accept and make his own the facts of science, history, and language which are presented to him. Only comparatively few ad-

vanced students, and they in coöperation, are able to modify the great body of collective information.

The merchant, the banker, the doctor, or the lawyer, is compelled to gain his knowledge almost wholly from social sources. The dealer on 'Change is dependent for the information which is so vitally important to him, upon a vast number of isolated observations combined into a generalized report. The scope for independent individual knowledge is, after all, very narrow.

All individuals dependent upon collective information

In the sphere of feeling and judgment, the domination of social forces is equally conspicuous. The individual accepts certain standards which are imposed upon him from without. In infancy and youth, estimates of worth, and emotions appropriate to them, are inculcated by parents and teachers. The boy is taught to regard this with aversion and look upon that with approval. He is usually an echo of father and mother. These ideals and feelings become so completely a part of the lad that one who knows thoroughly all the conditions of his education can generally predict what opinions and feelings will be aroused in given circumstances. The political debates of mere boys offer admirable examples of externally determined opinions.

Early training exerts largely a determining influence

Prejudice describes, with rather a sinister implication, the conditioning force of education and environment as well as of inherited temperament. With advancing age and wider experience individual modes of feeling and judgment may be modified, but they remain none the less predominantly social, rather than personal, products.

"Prejudice" describes the conditioning effect of education and environment

The youth who attends college, and returns to patronize his parents and fellow-townsmen, is not the emancipated and independent person he probably imagines. He has simply gained a somewhat larger share of social knowledge and acquired the standards of another social group. He is hardly less the creature of circumstances than is his former schoolmate, who has remained in the little village. The circumstances are, perhaps, of a broader and better kind; but so far as personal independence is concerned, the college student has not changed essentially his relation to social psychical forces.

We may recognize the existence of a certain volitional freedom in ethical consciousness, and a consequent measure of personal responsibility, but it is useless to deny that social forces exercise a constraining influence upon individuals, which unites them in a coherent, organic whole. This psychical organism displays modes of activity and growth which are susceptible of study as peculiar phenomena.

A certain volitional freedom not inconsistent with the tyranny of circumstances

The significance of Social Psychology

The psychical nature of society suggests the real source of social maladies

The conception of society to be kept in view during the remainder of this volume

Illustrations

§ 168. If the existence of a Social or Super-psychology is admitted, as we believe it must be, most important results may be expected from the pursuit of this science. The formation of social knowledge, feeling and willing, and the reaction of them upon individuals, through whom, in turn, social structures and functions are affected, become phenomena of the utmost significance. Manifestly, we have discovered in the psychical nature of society the true vital principle, which not only explains past and present conditions, but suggests the ultimate source of those maladjustments and imperfectly performed activities which Constructive Sociology aims to modify and improve. It is clearly impossible for the student to understand the real nature of the social problems which confront him unless he gains insight into the mysterious forces which bind together and motive the physical elements of society. A mere examination of the parts of an engine, separately and in their relations, is of little or no value apart from a knowledge of the nature and properties of steam.

The analysis in Books III. and IV. has given us a conspectus of society chiefly in its external aspects. We must now conceive of this vast complex of physical matter, organic and inorganic, as forming a coherent whole, in which intangible and elusive, yet none the less actual, forces, themselves ever changing, are constantly maintaining combinations and effecting recombinations, causing movements, altering physical conditions, and thus producing progressive readjustments. It is from this standpoint that we are to regard society in the remainder of our discussion.

An inspection of any fraction of society in the light of this conception becomes significant. Every building is the outward expression of an ideal in the mind of its architect. A street car represents in physical matter the thoughts of many men. The pavements are a result of the demands of thousands of individuals, which, through the machinery

of society, get themselves satisfied in tangible things. If these streets are ill-kept, the very mud and litter stand for certain psychical conditions. Stores, with their stocks of goods, are called into existence as the result of psychical and psycho-physical requirements. A glance over the wares of the bookseller tells much as to the intelligence and taste of those for whom he caters.

Buildings, pavements, stores, etc., — all are visible expressions of psychical demands

A quotation from Lotze is apposite in connection with this subject: “. . . how absolutely universal is the extent, and at the same time how completely subordinate the significance, of the mission which mechanism has to fulfill in the structure of the world!” (*Microcosmus*, Introduction.)

Quotation from Lotze's *Microcosmus*

Society gains coherence and is motivated by psychical forces which are peculiar products of the psychical processes of individuals, and, as such, form the subject-matter of Social Psychology or Super-psychology. The phenomena of the latter science are shown to consist of social knowledge, feeling, and volition, which are integrations of the similar characteristics of individuals. These collective forces react upon social units and for the most part determine individual modes of thought, emotion, and action. The psychical nature of society is of the utmost significance, both in Descriptive and in Constructive Sociology.

Summary

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. An analysis of the forces which give coherence to a trades-union.
2. The significance from the psychical standpoint of a strike in a factory.
3. The motive forces of a church organization.
4. A statement of the view which recognizes no phenomena other than those of Individual Psychology.
5. A defense with concrete illustrations of the position taken by this volume with regard to the question.
6. An outline of Schäffle's analogy between Individual and Social Psychology. (*Bau und Leben*.)

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7. An outline of De Greef's similar analogy. (*Introduction à la Sociologie.*)
 8. A comparison and correlation of the analysis of Schäffle and De Greef.
 9. The weather-report service in its relation to social knowledge.
 10. The mob spirit and its effect upon college students at a football or baseball match.
 11. The causes which have made a given man a Democrat or a Republican.
 12. The significance of education in the light of the psychical conception.
 13. Some of the psychical forces of which Westminster Abbey is an expression.
 14. An expansion of the idea expressed in the quotation from Lotze (§ 168).

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS—THE PHENOMENA OF AUTHORITY

§ 169. Psychology tells us that many activities of the human body are carried on as a result of reflex influences of which the individual is unconscious. The physiological functions of digestion, respiration, circulation of the blood, and the like, are normally performed in this way. Almost without exception, adjustments to external conditions, however, are conscious or reasoned acts. Since all social functions are combinations of individual activities, it follows that *so far as the social unit is concerned* every social act is consciously performed. It will be remembered that Social Psychology has been defined as a higher product of Individual Psychology. Is there, then, a social consciousness as distinguished from that of the individual? May an act be conscious from the standpoint of the social unit, and, nevertheless, unconscious on the part of society as a whole? As before, we shall rely upon an inspection of reality rather than upon formal argument to show that these questions should be answered in the affirmative.

Individual and social consciousness distinguished

Every social act is conscious from the individual, but not from the collective, standpoint

Reliance placed upon inspection of reality rather than upon formal argument

We believe that the distinction between individual and collective consciousness is clearly observable in the most familiar of social phenomena, and is fully recognized in practice, if not in theory, by those who are trying to modify social arrangements.

A given farmer is consciously performing the tasks of agriculture, but the farmers of a region, state or nation, do not communicate with

Illustrations

Production to a large extent socially unconscious

each other, estimate the demand for their crops, decide upon certain plans and proportions of production and thus make their combined activities *socially conscious*. If they did, each man would not only know what he himself was doing, but what relation his tasks bore to the collective labor.

World's Fair hotels built without social consciousness, in excess of actual needs

While the World's Fair was being built, hundreds of hotels were erected in the vicinity to accommodate expected visitors. Large numbers of men who owned land, or had capital, or could form a stock company, engaged in hotel enterprises. Each one was conscious of what he himself was doing, yet there was almost no common or social consciousness as to the aggregate hotel capacity of the World's Fair region. One Sunday in April, before the opening of the Exposition, a daily paper printed a list of Fair hotels with the capacity of each and the sum total of rooms available. The public and the proprietors were astonished, and the latter dismayed, at the figures. Social consciousness was aroused, but too late to be of service to many speculators.

The socialists demand social consciousness in economic activities

The socialists make a great point of the unconsciousness of production, the absence of reasoned, coördinated, economic activity, and they urge the immense benefit to be derived from socialized management which would collect accurate information and carefully plan the quantities of different commodities needed during a given period.

Reformers seek primarily to arouse social consciousness as a prerequisite to progress

Agitators of social reform aim primarily to create a social consciousness of certain arrangements and activities which they deem dangerous to society. They collect facts, show relations, make inferences and in many ways publish these results until a common body of knowledge and opinion is produced, which in turn arouses feeling and leads to action. Public consciousness is a prerequisite of social reform.

Social functions and growths are chiefly unconscious

§ 170. Unconsciousness is a conspicuous characteristic of social activities and institutions. Individuals seek the satisfaction of their own desires with little or no thought of the relations which their acts sustain to the total life of society. Although in performing social tasks individuals usually avoid infringement of each other's spheres of activity, and thus conform to a certain system of coöperation, they do not, in most things, have a reasoned and conscious plan of collective action. From this it follows that many institutions are largely unconscious social growths, which have developed

Coöperation and non-interference do not necessarily constitute social consciousness

through long periods of time. The family institution, the industrial system, language itself, have been produced gradually and not according to preconceived ideals.

Social unconsciousness, as De Greef has pointed out, characterizes the phenomena which are connected with the lower human wants, and find expression in propagation and in production and distribution. The functions of sociability, education, and discipline display a certain degree of social consciousness, while in politics society at last assumes a more or less reasoned control of its own activities and attempts to direct them toward a definite goal.

The reforming enthusiast is prone to bewail the unconsciousness of society, but this very trait is manifestly one of the economies of nature. If it were not for this more or less reflex character of social functions, if collective reason were compelled constantly to deal with the manifold and complex conditions which society presents, irresolution and anarchy would prevail. Yet, as we shall see in the next section, consciousness has an important part to play in social progress.

The family is an outgrowth of the gregarious instinct. Men did not establish the institution because they foresaw that the family relation would be characterized by ever higher forms of affection, and would exert subtle socializing influences upon offspring. The family is chiefly the product of unconscious social evolution.

The attempt to found the universal language, Volapük, is an unsuccessful effort to arouse social consciousness. From the standpoint of pure reason, language, with its countless divisions, dialects, and inconsistencies, is an absurd institution. Rationality would demand a uniform and universal medium of communication, and yet society is so persistently unconscious in this regard, that even the reformers of spelling are making slow progress.

The agitation during the summer and autumn of 1893, for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman bill, was a phenomenon of social consciousness. For several years the provisions of the act had been carried out by government officials who were conscious of their

The satisfactions of lower desires are the most unconscious of social phenomena

Unconsciousness is manifestly one of the economies of nature

Illustrations
The family institution an unconscious growth

Volapük an attempt to arouse social consciousness to the irrationality of language

The agitation for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill an effort to stimulate social consciousness

individual conduct, but gave little or no thought to the wide relations involved. In like manner the nation as a whole was engaged in daily tasks, and for the most part did not know what was going on. Suddenly a commercial crisis appeared. Its causes, and measures for averting its threatened dangers, were immediately sought. Among others, the monthly purchase of silver was fixed upon and by a large section of the country accepted, as the chief source of the trouble. On certain grounds, as to the justice of which we express no opinion, the immediate repeal of the purchasing clause was urged as a measure of vital importance. Alleged effects upon credit, investments, the currency, and prices were depicted and reiterated until a vast body of somewhat reasoned social conviction was created. The people believed certain things to be true, and were convinced that repeal would be the part of wisdom. Whether it was intelligent or unintelligent, social consciousness was aroused and was expressed in feeling and action.

Social consciousness soon relapses into unconsciousness

§ 171. The development of society exhibits a succession of states of consciousness which, finding expression in written or unwritten laws, or in modifications of institutions, fade away. The changes in activities, arrangements, and standards once consciously made, are soon consolidated and become points of departure for still further readjustments. The economy of such a procedure is manifest. Reflex, unreasoned actions are promptly performed with the minimum of effort. Consciousness serves to modify and improve the nature of structure or function, then gives place to reflex action.

Social consciousness, having effected changes in structures and functions, fades away

The stimulation of consciousness essential to reform

Thus it is evident that the stimulation of social consciousness is a matter of great concern to those who are engaged in tasks of social amelioration or reformation. In the last analysis, it is by this means only that important and genuine changes can be effected. Yet the difficulties and limitations in creating social consciousness may be easily underestimated and cause serious disappointment to sanguine philanthropists.

Illustrations

The standards of judgment in the United States as to social drinking customs represent a consolidation of successively conscious states, each

of which has reverted to unconsciousness. Fifty years ago wine drinking was very generally practiced even by ministers and church members. Gradually facts were collected, as to the use of liquor, its effects on individuals and on social arrangements. A public consciousness of the part played by this custom in the collective life, and a conviction that its influence as a whole was dangerous, were little by little created. As a result, criteria of conduct were modified: total abstinence was accepted by great numbers as a rule of life, and practiced until it became a habit. Children were trained to conform with this ideal, and the possibility of returning to the old order was not even admitted. Within a generation, this socially conscious change of practice became largely unconscious or reflex. In a similar way the principle of "local option" is rapidly passing through the phase of a collectively conscious phenomenon and becoming an accepted standard or social policy.

The passage of the "factory acts" in England affords admirable examples of the point here involved. In the rapid industrial development of the early part of the century, men, women, and children were sacrificed to the immense forces of progress. Individuals over all England knew that human beings, young and old, of both sexes, were working under conditions which doomed many to disease, moral degeneration, and premature death, but society, as such, was unconscious of the situation. Isolated complaints grew in numbers and vehemence until Parliament felt compelled to appoint a commission to examine carefully the actual condition of wage earners in English mines and factories. The report of this body filled the three kingdoms with dismay and indignation. Society became conscious of the abnormal and revolting condition of so many of its members, and through the duly constituted organ of government took measures to correct the evils. Public opinion on this matter was sustained until the "factory acts" were enforced. After a time the new arrangements were so generally accepted and firmly established that danger of reverting to the former status wholly vanished. To-day we wonder that such conditions could ever have been tolerated. Social action with regard to most of these old abuses has become reflex. The new evils must enter the social consciousness before they can be ameliorated or removed.

The change in standards as to drinking in the United States

The conscious changes of the last generation have resulted in reflex action in the present

The passage of the "factory acts" in England

Observation of conditions resulted in the stimulation of social consciousness and in changes

which are now accepted as a matter of course

§ 172. At a first superficial glance, society seems a mere mass of independent individuals, moving freely as suits the whim of each, certainly without physical coherence and

Coördination about guiding centers or authorities

apparently lacking a unifying principle. We know, however, that there are psychical forces which maintain the structures and motive the activities of the social organism. What system of correlation makes possible the approximately harmonious coöperation of these countless social units?

The arrangements of the psycho-physical communicating apparatus correspond to the psychical organization of society

The student will remember that our analysis (Bk. III., Chap. IV.) of the social communicating structure discovered an arrangement of channels about a series of nuclei, each in subordination to successively higher centers. Since these lines of transmission are created for psychical service, it follows that there is a corresponding grouping of individuals about centers of influence or authority. By this arrangement social units sustain orderly relations to society as a whole, and come under the control of coördinating agencies. The term "authority" is here employed in its widest sense to describe any influence or person having recognized psychical power over social groups, large or small. It is by no means to be limited to politically constituted officials.

Illustrations

The structure of a mob compared with that of a regiment

The one has no psychical organization

The other displays subordination

A mob of citizens and a regiment of soldiers present a contrast of structure. The one is an unorganized, unwieldy mass moved, perhaps, by a vague common purpose, but unable to adjust itself promptly to external conditions or to carry out any plan efficiently. The regiment, on the other hand, exhibits a structure of a high type; it is capable of rapid and exact evolutions, and can render a given service with promptness and precision. Ignoring for the present the important element of discipline, the difference between these two collections of men is primarily one of organization. The mob has one or two leaders who harangue, suggest, and urge. They issue no definite orders, the men jostle and push in a wild rush this way or that. Real control does not exist.

In the regiment, soldiers are primarily grouped about sergeants, who are themselves subordinate to lieutenants and captains; they, in turn, look to the colonel for commands. Thus we see a succession of authorities, through whom impulses are quickly communicated from the chief officer to the private in the ranks. If each soldier were to have a personal interview with the colonel, and receive instructions from

him, or were to march in accordance with an independent personal plan, the regiment would quickly lose its efficiency. Subordination and unquestioning obedience to immediate authority constitute the essential principle of military movements.

and thorough correlation with a single guiding center

While society, this side of a socialistic régime, cannot be arranged with military precision, it does display, in principle, the same grouping about centers of authority.

§ 173. In view of the increasing aggregate of social knowledge, and the growing demand for further research and discovery, a regular division of observation and study has taken place. Specialization is a conspicuous characteristic of our time. We find one man devoting all his energies to one department of Biology, another to Optics, a third to a single period of History. By a natural process specialists of preëminent ability are acknowledged as such by their colleagues, and, after a time, are recognized by larger and larger circles of individuals, until a few win national, and even international, fame. Such men are *authorities* in their respective departments. Their dicta are accepted unquestioningly by great numbers, and are incorporated as a part of social knowledge and feeling.

The division of psychical labor produces authorities

Specialists in psychical labor gain recognition as authorities

The economy of such an arrangement is manifest. Only by specialization can the vast psychical work of society be accomplished. Only by accepting the results of differentiated individual efforts can a body of social knowledge be organized. Faith in authority is absolutely essential to progress in social intelligence. The man who would know everything for himself must first discover the "elixir of life."

Only by specialization can the immense psychical labor of society be accomplished

Anything which Edison may say about electrical phenomena finds wide acceptance. Koch's opinions on tuberculosis carry with them great weight. Weismann's theories of heredity influence many students.

Illustrations Edison, Koch, and Weismann as authorities

The sociologist, of all men, must exercise faith in authority. His task is largely one of synthesis. He must accept the results which the biologist, the psychologist, the anthropologist, the historian, the economist, and the statistician offer to him. When authorities disagree,

The sociologist as a synthesist must rely upon authorities

the student of society may weigh arguments and judge between conflicting views; but for facts and primary generalizations, he must depend upon others.

The phenomena of authority are conspicuous in the educational system, and are among the most familiar manifestations of psychical activity.

Authority is exercised by individuals, groups, and institutions

§ 174. The main sources of general authority in society are individual mental ability, reputation, personal or inherited, and the hold of social groups and organs on popular favor. Authority in a technical sense is duly constituted in the social regulative system, whether it be the management of a factory or the government of a nation.

Individual leadership by virtue of ability and personal or inherited reputation

Personal leadership is a well-known phenomenon of authority. Certain individuals, by virtue of their known attainments, the strength of their personalities, the fame which these elements have won for them, sometimes by reason of their very names, gather and influence larger or smaller groups of followers.

Societies and parties as sources of authority

Again, newspapers, and the expressed opinions of societies, parties, churches, and other aggregates and organs not only largely control their immediate constituencies, but often wield power in much wider circles. The authority exercised by directors, managers, foremen, bosses, etc., in economic activities, and by various officials of political government, is of a more clearly defined and generally recognized character.

Special authority tends to become general

It is worth noting that authority, originally based on a certain definite claim, often becomes after a time vaguely universal, so that men whose opinions on one particular subject deserve respectful attention and possibly unquestioning acceptance, gradually assume the position of oracles on many different questions, about which they really know little or nothing.

Illustrations

Mr. Gladstone's review of *Robert Elsmere* had so marked an influence upon the sale of Mrs. Ward's first novel, that English paragraph-

ers humorously advise young authors to give the *ex-premier* a retainer, and then make haste to write a book.

Gladstone's
review of
*Robert
Elsmere*

The device of quoting authorities, living and dead, is a practice of scholars, preachers, editors, politicians, and especially lawyers. Sermons often abound in extracts from the opinions of famous theologians. Newspaper editorials contain quotations from prominent political leaders. The average stump speaker alludes frequently to views held by men high in the councils of the party.

The quotation
of authorities

Resolutions passed by national and provincial conventions of many kinds have varying degrees of influence. Every such gathering is beset by individuals who want the indorsement of the body for some particular plan of social or political action. The platforms of national parties are in one respect means for gaining the maximum of votes, and in another they are official approvals of certain policies in which influential parts of the organization are interested.

Resolutions of
conventions
and various
indorsements,
personal and
corporate,
have certain
authority

Letters of recommendation and "press notices," the ammunition with which lecturers, actors, readers, musicians, and entertainers of all kinds storm bureaus, managers, and committees, are doubtless in part evidences of good faith, but in larger measure they are appeals to authority. "Rev. Dr. Blank [a divine noted for his work on Systematic Theology] says that I am the best drawing-room whistler in the profession, therefore, pray give me an engagement," is often the logical process of the petitioner. "Recommendations" and "indorsements" in private notes and advertising columns present very interesting phenomena of authority.

Letters of rec-
ommendation
as appeals to
authority

§ 175. Authorities exert positive influences upon groups of individuals and give direction to social knowledge, feeling, and volition. Generally, the initiative comes from the side of authority. The fact of leadership involves domination and control, and usually implies the use of such power for some definite purpose. In all departments of life, especially in politics, leaders are easily distinguished. Leadership is not always personal, but is often exercised by social organs. The important part which the press plays in the communicating structure is significant in connection with the facts of authority. Personal contact may be possible between minor leaders and their followers, but more important authorities cannot

The active
side of
authority:
leadership

Authority
brings to bear
positive
impulses on
its public

Personal contact between leaders and followers plays some part, but the press is the chief medium through which authority is exerted

The immense power wielded by the press will be more and more recognized as social analysis advances

Authorities are manifestly sources of great social influence, and are rightly approached by social reformers

Illustrations
The scholar offers a new theory

exert direct and constant influence upon their greater publics. Even the structure of speaker and audience (§ 108) has its limitations.

The press, therefore, is the chief medium of communication between the greater authorities and their followers. Scholars present the results of their researches in books and journals; theological leaders have papers of their own, and also gain admission to the general press; statesmen and politicians often control personal newspapers; while parties, factions, syndicates, and other groups either manage their own organs or exert influence upon other journals. The authorities of fashion communicate impulses by means of special newspapers, as well as through the general press.

The immense influence of the press will be recognized more and more fully as analysis of society advances. In reality, the impulses communicated by this organ, regarded as a whole, give stimulus and direction to social activities of every kind. The fact that large numbers of individuals are not reached directly by the newspaper does not materially weaken this statement. The press influences all, at least, who are capable of exercising leadership, and through them makes itself felt to the very limits of the psychical organism.

Authorities, then, are manifestly a source of power, which, through the medium of the press, is brought to bear upon various special publics, and, from time to time, is exerted upon the whole body of citizens, or the general public. Those who seek to begin a social movement by winning the confidence and convincing the reason of the appropriate authorities pursue the most direct, although not always the easiest, method.

A scholar, after careful investigation, is convinced that a certain theory, heretofore generally accepted, must be abandoned in view of the discovery of certain new facts. Having formulated another hypothesis, which, to his own satisfaction, explains all the phenomena, he

publishes a clear and accurate statement of the whole case, thereby bringing a positive force to bear upon his peculiar public.

A group of prominent and respected citizens, in a small city, resolve to put an end to certain forms of municipal corruption. They quietly effect an organization, make investigations, present the facts at a public meeting, and offer a definite plan of reform. The local press gives support to the movement, and a psychical force, originating, so far as the town is concerned, with these guiding authorities, is exerted on the community. (*The Cosmopolis City Club*, Washington Gladden.)

A group of leading citizens set in motion a campaign for municipal reform

A theologian of conspicuous ability, and a recognized authority, becomes convinced that certain modifications of belief are rendered necessary by the progress of knowledge, and he formulates changes in the creed which he thinks ought to be accepted. By making public his views, he sets at work an important force.

A theologian presents a modification of creeds

A political leader decides, that for many reasons, personal and partisan, a given man would make a useful official. Forthwith, the paper, or group of papers, which the manager controls, begins to put the chosen *protégé* forward as a candidate. The "bosses," immediately under the thumb of the leader, are instructed to "boom" the same individual, and other influences are exerted to bring about the desired result. The original impulse has its source in an authority who knows what he wants and how to get it.

A political leader dictates the election of a given candidate

A subscription book agent begins his campaign in a village or town, by seeking to get at the head of his list the names of prominent citizens, knowing full well that these authorities will influence the decisions of humbler folk.

A subscription book agent tries to head his list with influential names

The loyalty of the subscriber to his favorite newspaper is well-known, and is reckoned upon by political managers. The influence of the journal upon the subscriber is of the greatest social significance. It is probably safe to say that the majority of reading citizens in the United States take regularly only one general newspaper, or the newspapers of only one party. In political affairs the vast majority of readers are mere echoes of their newspapers. It is through the press that chief authorities make themselves felt and exercise the greatest influence.

The loyalty of the newspaper subscriber affords an opportunity to bring authority to bear upon him

Local authorities, professional men, leaders of society and fashion, and sportsmen come in personal contact with their followers, but are themselves in subordination to greater leaders from whom they receive impulses through the press.

The passive side of authority, reaction of the public

The successful leader keeps in sympathetic relations with his following

Social control a delicate and difficult task

Illustrations Initiative does not always come from the side of authority

Reaction of a special public on a scientific authority

Modification of reform methods to conform with popular opinion

§ 176. The much-abused and in itself dubious phrase, "keeping in touch with the public," implies another aspect of authority which deserves careful study. Not only is authority positively exerted upon its peculiar public, but that public in turn reacts upon and modifies the authority itself. By this process of mutual reaction, social knowing, feeling, and willing are produced. The successful leader is he who is constantly in such close and sympathetic relations with his public that they are always responsive to his suggestions and recommendations. Those who, elated by a sudden elevation to leadership, imagine that they have only to issue commands, will be speedily chagrined. The reaction of public opinion upon authority makes social control a most delicate and difficult task. The disciplined organization of an army is not a type of social arrangements in general.

The initiative in social movements does not always come from the side of authority. When the leader fails to recognize the existence of conditions which demand action, he is spurred to effort by the influences which his public bring to bear. The social reformer, if repulsed by authority, turns to the public and attempts to arouse consciousness and thus to exert pressure on the incredulous or remiss leader.

Let us look at another aspect of the several illustrations just given under § 175.

A scholarly paper presenting a new scientific theory is subjected to rigid criticism even by those who acknowledge the authority of the writer, and, in consequence, the scientist makes certain modifications in his views. The final product is a result of both positive authority and the reaction of a special public.

A company of municipal reformers presents a definite plan of campaign carefully worked out and apparently sure to set in motion the better psychical forces of the community. Yet, as the scheme is put in operation, more or less modification is rendered necessary by the attitude which various groups or the general public assume. The ultimate measures differ from the original plans; they are the joint product of authority and public opinion.

A political manager decides to nominate for office a "worker" whose reputation is not of the best. Through the party organs "feelers" are

sent out, suggestions are made as to possible candidates, etc. If there is no pronounced opposition developed, the scheme is pushed through; but should there be a well-defined public reaction against the plan, the leader is likely to hesitate, and unless something of prime importance is involved in the success of the "deal" he will probably abandon it, for a time at least. No class is better versed in the phenomena of social reaction than the professional politicians.

Even the usually autocratic dictators of fashion are sometimes compelled to yield to popular pressure. The recently reported effort to restore the absurd crinoline to feminine favor aroused such a storm of opposition from press and people, that the plan was abandoned, if, indeed, it was ever seriously entertained.

Letters to newspapers, petitions and personal communications to officials, mass meetings, etc., are among the means employed by the public to influence authority. The bombardment of the United States Senate last autumn (1893), for and against the repeal of the purchasing clause, is a case in point. The present agitation for stringent national legislation against lotteries displays this same effort to coerce authority.

The reaction of the public upon the press is a subject for careful special study. There is much irrational talk about the duties and responsibilities of newspapers, as though they were independent forces in society (§ 162). In reality, they are a vital part of the social fabric, and exhibit all the phenomena of interdependence that characterize other organs. Undoubtedly economic considerations have great influence upon the press. The newspaper which cannot maintain its subscription list and advertising business at a certain point, *i.e.* an organ which fails to secure adequate sustenance, must perish. Hence the first question with any newspaper is, in the nature of things, economic. The art of obtaining and holding subscribers is an application of the principles of authority and reaction. It is sometimes rather cynically said that the press is as good as the public will permit. There is an important truth in this remark. The newspaper may lead its public positively, but it must adapt itself, in a measure, to that public's opinions, tastes, and prejudices. The sentiments expressed on the editorial page of the newspaper are only in rare cases individual opinions of its chief editor or of its staff as a group. They are super-psychical phenomena, products of authority in politics, art, literature, finance, etc., reacted upon by the vaguely collective opinion of readers.

A political manager withdraws an unpopular candidate

Dictators of fashion are sometimes thwarted by popular opposition

Methods of influencing authority

The reaction of public opinion on the press a most important subject

The newspaper is economically dependent on society

"The press is as good as the public will permit"

Editorial expression is a product of authority and public reaction

The responsibility for shortcomings of the press

No one will deny that the press exhibits pathological phenomena (§ 159); but, as we have insisted more than once, the responsibility must be distributed throughout the whole organism, not fixed upon the newspaper as the ultimate source of the evils.

Summary

Social consciousness is a phenomenon clearly displayed by certain forms of collective activity, although, for the most part, such movements are not thus rationally conceived by society as a whole. States of consciousness, having once resulted in structural and functional change, soon fade away. All individuals in society are arranged about centers of authority, which are related to each other, in a series of progressive subordination. Authority exercises a positive influence, or leadership, upon those under its control, who, in turn, react upon and modify the forces originally exerted.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The stock exchange as a stimulator of social consciousness.
2. An examination of the proposition that economic action is largely unconscious, from the standpoint of society as a whole.
3. The "trust" as an example of socially conscious production.
4. Observed facts of social unconsciousness in a given community.
5. The observed progress from unconsciousness to consciousness, with regard to certain conditions, in a given community. Sanitation, street cleaning, etc.
6. The observed progress from unconsciousness to consciousness in the use of telephones, electric street cars, etc.
7. The progress from consciousness to unconsciousness in the growth of vocabularies; the coining and adoption of new words.
8. The authorities of a given community and their relation to other external authorities.
9. An observed instance of successfully exerted authority (other than that of a regularly recognized official).
10. An observed instance of authority successfully opposed by public opinion.
11. The observed reaction of a congregation on a preacher.

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12. The observed reaction of a jury on a lawyer.
 13. An analysis of authority and reaction as displayed by a given newspaper.
 14. An examination of the proposition that "the press is as good as the public will permit."
 15. Arguments for and against the "endowed" newspaper.

CHAPTER III

CERTAIN LAWS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY—SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND FEELING

Social Psychology discovers certain general principles

§ 177. Before proceeding to a more detailed examination of the psychical processes of society which have been either outlined or implied in Chapters I. and II., we must direct attention to certain important generalizations based upon observation of phenomena peculiar to Social Psychology.

which are of special significance for social reformers

The collective psychical labor of society displays several characteristic principles of activity, two of which are of marked significance, especially in their application to specific measures of reform. Our analysis, as a whole, has led us to recognize more fully the essentially psychical nature of society. All knowledge, therefore, of the laws which govern the fundamental forces of collective life should manifestly be deemed of first importance.

At a given moment the collective psychical force is a fixed quantity

§ 178. *At any given moment, the psychical force of society, together with the efficiency of the psycho-physical mechanism, is a fixed quantity.* In other words, on any designated day, or for any brief period, the nervous force of all individuals, *i.e.* the intellectual power which they can direct toward one or many activities, disciplined habits of action, as well as all muscular tissues, technical devices, means of communication and other physical apparatus obedient to psychical impulse, constitute a certain fixed

aggregate of available energy. This total force consists of active and potential elements, which are complementary; any increase of the one causes a proportionate decrease of the other. This law has two important corollaries:

(1) If special psychical force is, at a given time, concentrated on one social activity, the additional energy must either be taken from the potential resources of society, or withdrawn from other activities. As a matter of fact, the former store is seldom large, even in a highly organized and well-disciplined community, so that the statement virtually resolves itself into the proposition that psychical concentration upon one activity involves a decrease in the energy expended on one or more other functions. This phenomenon is familiar to all who are close observers of social processes. When unusual popular interest is aroused in behalf of a certain movement, other affairs receive less attention; many are quite neglected.

Psychical force concentrated on one object must be withdrawn from others

(2) It also follows, from the general law above stated, that the aggregate energy of society can be increased either by raising the psychical power of individuals, or by improving the efficiency of the psycho-physical apparatus; or both methods may be employed at the same time. A few reformers seem to assume that social energy is an unlimited force, which may be simultaneously exerted upon many unusual tasks. The majority of those who seek to exercise social control, however, recognize the principle we have just considered, and adapt their methods to its requirements.

The aggregate psychical force can be increased in only two ways

The period of interest and excitement which precedes a presidential election in the United States is a time of more or less depression for certain retail traders. Booksellers and librarians find that the demand for literature is perceptibly affected. Lectures of a general nature, concerts, and art exhibitions are likely to receive less attention at such times. Social entertainments are often postponed until after the contest has been decided.

Illustrations

Effects of popular interest in a presidential election in the United States

Influence of
strikes and
epidemics

During a great strike, or an epidemic which engages public attention to an unusual degree, many ordinary social activities are slighted. It is not then that great reforms are started, unless they are intimately related to the question of the hour.

of war

Again, while a nation is absorbed in a foreign war, popular movement for temperance or universal suffrage would be little heeded.

of religious
revivals

The "revival season" in an American village or small town is characterized by a very general absorption in religious matters, at the same time with a decrease of interest in other affairs of life.

Improvements
in education
and in the
agencies of
communication

The increase of psychical energy in society is accomplished by improved education of the young and by stimulating the intelligence of all. It is, in the nature of things, a slow process. A reform movement seeks to educate individuals, and to increase the efficiency of the psycho-physical communicating apparatus. Papers are established, books and pamphlets are distributed, lecturers are sent out. This increased volume of symbols is a distinct psychical gain, and reacts upon individuals. By these two methods, the sum of social energy is enlarged.

The training
of a college
crew illustrates
increase in
psycho-physi-
cal efficiency

The training of a college crew illustrates the increase of psycho-physical efficiency. Eight raw young men, more or less ignorant of the principles of rowing, without a common spirit of enthusiasm and ambition, their muscles only partially disciplined, and their bodies in a state of only ordinary vigor, are turned over to a skillful trainer. In a few months mental and physical changes are effected, which produce a group of high-spirited, plucky, perfectly disciplined young fellows. They are animated by a sense of comradeship and by a common purpose which finds expression, through their splendidly developed bodies, in a rhythmical and powerful stroke that sends their shell through the water as though it were a living thing—a completely coördinated organism. Such increase in collective energy is possible only during a comparatively long period. Society cannot be improved suddenly.

Society cannot
be suddenly
improved

Social
psychical
energy
cannot long
be concentrated upon
one object

§ 179. *Social psychical energy cannot long be concentrated upon one object.* While it is possible, by various means, to arouse public consciousness and to direct special attention to a given activity or institution, such interest cannot be maintained permanently, or even for a long period. The same tendency to change which characterizes the phenomena of Individual Psychology manifests itself in the processes of the collective psychical force. This fickleness

of the popular mind is turned to account by politicians, leaders of fashion, and others who depend upon the favor of the public. The advice to "strike while the iron is hot," to secure action while the people are thoroughly alive to an important issue, is born of experience. The way in which the favorite of to-day is held up to-morrow to popular scorn and contempt throws light upon the vacillation of social feeling. This "law of contrast," as Schäffle terms it, insures against the permanence of extravagant tendencies, prevents the disproportionate social development which would result from long-sustained concentration of interest upon one element of life, and thus, in general, secures a certain equilibrium of society.

Popular attention and interest display a certain fickleness

The "law of contrast" is of great social significance

Disclosures concerning "sweating" in a given city are made through the press. Meetings are held; sermons are preached; intense interest is aroused. To judge from newspaper editorials, popular addresses, and casual conversations, it seems certain that the evil is to be persistently attacked until it is eliminated. The excitement lasts for a fortnight, during which certain slight improvements in methods of inspection are decided upon. Gradually the sweat shops become an old story, and popular attention is directed toward a heresy trial.

Illustrations

The rise and fall of a popular agitation

Corruption in municipal affairs is brought to light. A "reform movement" is started as a result of unusual popular demands. The "machine" politicians seek temporary obscurity, confident that the storm will soon blow over and leave only slight traces of its sudden fury. They are seldom deceived in their calculations.

The course of a reform movement in politics

Fashions in clothes, manners, literature, and art afford excellent illustrations of the "law of contrast." Feminine apparel especially swings from one extreme to another with almost rhythmical regularity. The *tournure* appeared a few years ago, grew rapidly in size, until it reached alarming proportions, then suddenly collapsed, and left skirts hanging limp against the person. The "balloon sleeves" of the present season are approaching a climax, as they have done more than once before during the century. We may expect soon to see once more the contour of the upper arm.

Fashions in clothes

Handshaking is just now accomplished by the "smart set" at the level of the eyes, but a year hence may be done a yard below that point.

in manners

in literature
and art

Realistic novels and impressionistic pictures have their respective "runs." Dickens and Thackeray go out of fashion and come back again.

Society is
in double
reaction with
nature

§ 180. Our brief examination of psychical structures, and of the phenomena and laws of Social Psychology has prepared us for a broad view of the life task of society as a whole, and a study of the vital processes by which this work is accomplished. Society, in order to maintain its coherence and continue its development, must constantly readjust itself to natural and artificial conditions, for the organism sustains a relation of double reaction with its environment. Natural circumstances make an impression upon society, which in turn effects modifications in nature. These artificial arrangements again influence social perception, and are themselves further modified. Thus approximate equilibrium may be preserved by an endless series of social readjustments to progressive changes in external conditions. In so far as a society, large or small, meets the requirements of constantly modified circumstances, it approaches normal life. Failure to conform with these demands is followed by social dissolution.

Nature
impresses
society, and
society modi-
fies nature in
an endless
series

Conditions
which insure
the survival
of a society

The conditions which insure the survival of a society are : fairly accurate observation of facts, ability to generalize such phenomena into a body of trustworthy social knowledge, prompt and just judgment as to the value to society of given activities and objects, orderly formation of social volitions, and the coördinated and efficient expression of them in external acts. With these several procedures the remainder of our discussion will concern itself.

Assertions
equally true of
large and
small societies

When we conceive of society in this way, we must remember that the assertion is true equally of a small social group, like a family or a factory, and of a city or a nation. Moreover, in attributing to a society, as such, the activities of observation, knowledge, valuation, volition, and execution,

we do not imply the existence of formally constituted centralized organs of social knowing, feeling, and willing, but refer to those collective psychical manifestations which in their totality take the more or less distinguishable forms enumerated above.

No central organs of social knowledge and feeling

The invention of machinery produces new forms of social structure, which in turn demand new activities. If steam looms compel men and women to work and live under conditions which threaten life and character, society must solve the problem or suffer serious damage. Society may build dams and reservoirs, but unless the artificial modifications of nature are carefully watched, such disasters as that at Johnstown may be the result. Railways have revolutionized social structure, but collisions, grade-crossing accidents, boiler explosions, are possibilities against which society must guard.

Illustrations

Inventions react upon society, and cause new conditions

Johnstown flood

When a track inspector finds an obstruction on a railway line, he does not telegraph to the superintendent of the road in order that the latter may instruct the nearest section boss to remove it. That would be the process which a literal biological analogy would demand. The discoverer of the obstruction either removes it himself or stops the next train. So in any society, large or small, innumerable acts are performed by individuals or groups under the influence of common knowledge and feeling. These acts, in the aggregate, constitute the executive functions of the society regarded as a whole. The fact that there are no central organs which receive all impressions, form all cognitions, make all judgments, decide upon all acts, and issue all executive commands to social units and organic groups, only proves that social life is not identical with that of a biological organism.

A railway-track inspector as an observer of fact and an executive without intervention of a central organ

§ 181. Every individual forms a point of contact between society and its environment. His senses receive impressions which are transmitted along the channels of which he is a part (§ 102). The structure of the psycho-physical communicating apparatus has been fully described. (Bk. III., Chap. IV.) By means of this correlated system, observations are gathered from innumerable individuals, first into subordinate nuclei, then in a somewhat generalized form they are communicated to higher centers, and so the process

Observation as a social process

The observations of individuals are gathered into centers which are in a series of subordination

All observations do not enter the social consciousness

Each organ makes social observations, and special organs exist for gathering impressions

Illustrations

The making of a government crop report

Government an organ of social observation

Astronomical observations

goes on until at the end of the series the result of the total observation is summarized, and becomes a social, as distinguished from an individual, product. One person may easily comprehend the result, but he could never have personally gathered the data.

All observations do not enter the social consciousness (§ 169). It would manifestly cause endless confusion even if all could know the experiences of each. Observations, as a rule, penetrate the social consciousness, *i.e.* tend to become a part of common knowledge, in proportion to the significance or peculiar interest which attaches to them. Thus, a commonplace fact may enter only individual consciousness, a more unusual event may be known to a restricted group, while an extraordinary or startling occurrence may stir a whole nation.

Although each social organ has its own structure for gathering impressions, there are, besides, organs especially devoted to the task of collecting the perceptions of individuals into summarized social observations, and putting these results at the service of society as a whole.

The gathering of a national crop report is a social observation. A large number of individuals in a given region report their personal observations to a central bureau which collects returns from a certain district and forwards its tables to a provincial or state officer, who in turn makes a summarized report to the central government, by which the total result for the country is made up.

Government departments conduct astronomical, meteorological, geological, agricultural, and economic observations which are eminently social products, and are of great service to all social organs.

Statistics represent the results of social observations which often extend over long periods of time and include immense areas. The observations upon which many astronomical predictions are based would be utterly impossible but for the coöperation of men in many generations.

A railway, a factory, a church, a family, each has its own structure of related individuals through whom impressions are gathered, yet all

these rely upon the social observations of government departments, scientific societies, the press, and other special fact-collecting agencies.

A workman in a factory makes an ingenious device which helps him in his daily tasks. The fact is known to his fellow operatives, but does not go beyond that group. Again, the same man contrives a home-made bicycle which is an object of interest to the whole town, and is talked about in neighboring villages. When, however, the obscure inventor perfects an appliance which revolutionizes a whole industry, the facts are published to the world, and enter the larger social consciousness.

Illustrations of various degrees in which different facts penetrate social consciousness

§ 182. The process by which social observation is transformed into social knowledge can here, at best, be merely outlined. Psychology distinguishes between perceptions, *i.e.* impressions made upon the senses of an individual, and cognitions, or the combination and integration of such perceptions into generalized ideas. In a somewhat analogous way social perceptions, made up of individual observations, are combined into social cognitions, which constitute what may be termed social intelligence.

The formation of social intelligence

Individual cognitions are combined into social cognitions

It is needless to point out again that individual observations are not gathered into a central sensorium, where they are organized into a body of knowledge. Cognition itself is a divided social labor. Every individual not only observes, but generalizes. Sometimes he reports merely his perceptions, but usually he communicates his own conclusions. The individual cognitions are combined into general or social intelligence. This process of consolidation is effected by a vast number of organs, by the reciprocal action of authorities and their publics, by the strife of parties, and the rivalries of schools of thought.

There is no social sensorium

Cognition a divided labor

The meeting of a scientific society affords a simple illustration of the formation of social, as distinguished from individual, knowledge. Papers are presented by different members who have been conducting experiments in special departments of science. The investigators report the results of their researches, and indicate the conclusions which

Illustrations Social cognition in a scientific society

these seem to justify. Then follows a general discussion, during which many speakers describe their own observations and impressions, criticising, repudiating, or approving the theories which have been advanced. By this process, group conceptions are finally reached, which differ in some degree from the original ideas of any of the members of the society.

A general
trade report
a social
cognition

The weekly trade report of a financial agency is a social, rather than an individual, product. It represents a combination of personal conclusions, from a large number of correspondents in all parts of the country, who submit not only facts, but the generalizations which it seems fair to make from them.

A text-book
as a result
of social
intelligence

A text-book on Political Economy, for example, stands for the consolidation of countless individual conceptions, organized, by virtue of long-sustained discussions and gradually accepted conclusions, into a body of social knowledge.

The service of
authorities
and parties in
the formation
of social
intelligence

§ 183. It is obvious that a large element of error always enters into social knowledge. Ill trained individuals make careless observations and reach false conclusions. Many prejudices, resulting from inheritance, education, and temperament, increase the number of mistaken individual ideas.

Possibilities of
error in social
observations
and knowledge

If, during the formation of social knowledge, these elements of error are not largely eliminated, the final product will be in so far untrustworthy.

Reaction
between
authority and
the public as
source of
protection
against error

The function of authority, as exercised by individuals and social organs, is primarily to dictate knowledge, opinions, and conduct. Manifestly, such power, if unchecked, might be the means of falsifying, purposely or unintentionally, the whole body of social intelligence. The reaction of the public upon authority, therefore, is a source of safety and protection. Where the public has too little psychical or physical force to influence authority, the abuse of power is almost inevitable.

Parties and
rival schools
of thought

A service somewhat similar to the check of public opinion on authority is rendered by political parties and rival schools of thought, by whose conflicts and discussions, many false ideas are excluded or eliminated from social cognition.

The ingenious, off-hand explanations of social and physical phenomena which the head of a family often offers to his young sons and daughters have to be modified as the latter enter the higher grades of the schools. Through the reaction of the domestic public on the family oracle the group knowledge gains decidedly in definiteness and accuracy.

Illustrations

Reaction of children on parents

The ambitious scientist, eager to increase his fame, conducts experiments with most scrupulous care and reports results with all possible fidelity, not only because he is sincerely devoted to truth for truth's sake, but because he knows that his work and conclusions will be subjected to merciless criticism and revision.

Scientists and public criticism

"Educational campaigns" between political parties do not afford university training to the public at large, as one might almost infer from reading partisan newspapers and speeches; but however much these conflicts may inflame passions and arouse unreasonable prejudices, they do have the effect of eliminating the grossest elements of falsehood. The present contest in the United States between the free silver party on the one side and the gold monometallists on the other, both stimulates a more general knowledge of the functions of money, and makes clear to a large majority the absurdity and error of the extreme propositions of each group.

"Educational campaigns" between political parties

Free silver *vs.* single gold standard

The controversy between Spencer and Weismann over phenomena of heredity is manifestly one of those intellectual struggles for survival by which the truth is gradually approximated.

The Spencer-Weismann controversy

The long and still continued warfare between individualists and collectivists has been productive of much social knowledge, which, without these parties, would have been unsought.

Individualists and collectivists

§ 184. The individual not only observes and generalizes, but he experiences feelings of pleasure or of pain; he instinctively approves or disapproves a given thing or action, without consciousness of intellectual reasoning. Social feelings and judgments are peculiar combinations of individual feelings and judgments, organized and consolidated in a manner analogous to the formation of social intelligence. Individuals are constantly experiencing feelings which they express in appropriate symbols, and are making decisions of worth that are gradually combined into social standards.

The formation of social feeling and judgment

Individual feelings and estimates of worth are consolidated into social feelings and judgments

These criteria in turn react upon individuals, and largely determine their emotions and estimates of value.

Feelings and instinctive judgments are economies of nature

Feelings and instinctive judgments play a most important part in social activities. If every individual act were separately reasoned, the functions of society would be performed with hesitation and confusion. Through the instrumentality of the emotions, a common standard finds prompt expression in the feelings and decisions of those who come under its influence.

Illustrations

A man sees a driver cruelly beating a horse. The observer instantly has a feeling of indignation; he expostulates, and even interposes, in the poor beast's behalf. This is not a reasoned act. There is no conscious reflection as to the suffering of the horse, the brutalizing effect upon the driver of such indulgence in rage, or the influence upon society of unsocial persons of this sort. A sudden sense of disapprobation surges into the mind at the mere sight of the cruelty, and action immediately follows. A teamster might view the same spectacle with sympathy and approval for the driver. Manifestly, standards of judgment differ. Great numbers of persons during long periods have coöperated to produce a body of social knowledge, and feeling appropriate to it, about the treatment of dumb animals, and in this way a standard has been created which is communicated to the young of each generation. This standard, possibly reënforced by personal reasoning, determines the emotions and judgments of the man in question.

The standard of treatment which should be accorded to dumb animals

The formation and determining influence of a standard

Social feelings as expressed in superstition

The lasting influence of feelings and of instinctive estimates of worth is illustrated in the survival among intelligent people of those superstitions which nurses and early companions communicate. Many a person of refinement and education avoids setting out for a journey on Friday, or feels a pang of fear at the breaking of a mirror, or the baying of a strange dog in the night.

Popular indignation over election frauds

The general indignation with which reports of election frauds are greeted in a community is a phenomenon of instinctive social feeling; it is an evidence that a standard of judgment exists which determines the emotions of individuals.

Lynching as an evidence of popular feeling

The spirit which leads to the lynching of a murderer is largely the unbridled popular feeling which is aroused by a crime of unusual atrocity.

A young man brought up under the influence of total abstinence standards, instinctively refuses liquor, the sight of which arouses in him a certain repugnance. He can doubtless give good reasons for his abstinence, but the immediate decision is imposed by a socially determined criterion.

Decisions and judgments become instinctive

§ 185. Every individual, and every social unity or organic group, is engaged in making judgments and decisions. The same division of labor characterizes this collective activity, as was shown to be true in the cases of social observation and cognition.

Social estimation of values a divided labor

Vast numbers of persons are engaged in economic appraisals which are symbolized in money, prices, qualitative grading of commodities, medals of award, premiums, personal commendations, etc. There are authorities in such valuations whose dicta have weight with the public.

Individuals and organs make economic appraisals

Educational institutions, by prizes, certificates, scholarships, degrees, and other distinctions, recognize and reward personal ability ; *i.e.* express judgments of approval, which are in the main accepted by society as just and discriminating.

Educational institutions reward personal ability

Critics exercise authority in dictating æsthetic judgments of pictures, statues, books, and music, but the oracles are so many, and their opinions so various, that only the vaguest general standards emerge from the chaos of estimates.

Art critics exercise an authority often called in question

By honors, decorations, titles, monuments, popular applause, and the like, large groups, cities, states, and nations express approval and appreciation of individuals.

General symbols of public honor and approval

The same faith which the division of social observation requires, is no less needed in the formation of social feeling and judgments of worth. The estimates of authorities and specialists must be relied upon. The individual must trust others to make many decisions which concern his own welfare.

Faith in authorities involved in social feeling

Every building of any pretensions represents the judgments or appraisals of many individuals. All the materials have been selected,

Illustrations

A building as
an expression
of divided
labor of
appraisal

and they have been put together by experts. The owner of the house has relied upon architect and builder, and they in turn upon many others, to select appropriate qualities of wood, stone, brick, mortar, etc.

The significance of a
college degree

The college graduate receives in his degree the approval of a number of different instructors who have tried him upon many sides, and found that he measures up to a certain standard, which has itself been gradually formed from the estimates of countless individuals.

The feelings
and judgments
of experts
generally to
be accepted

Men who have studied forestry and are imbued with certain ideals, are filled with indignation at the ruthless destruction of trees in many parts of the United States. The opinions and feelings of these specialists must be accepted by the public, who are compelled to rely upon expert judgment.

The relation
of social
knowledge to
social feeling

§ 186. Although knowledge and feeling may be treated as separate phenomena, they are in reality intimately related. Feeling illuminated by reason may be slowly modified. Violent prejudices, *i.e.* instinctive judgments of value, may be wholly changed by increase of knowledge.

The influence
of knowledge
on ethical
standards

Nowhere is the service of intelligence to feeling more marked than in ethical or moral judgments. The sense of obligation or duty, the instinctive feeling that certain things ought to be done, or that certain others should be avoided, may be regarded as innate in each individual, but reason has a large share in determining the concrete objects of obligation.

Illustrations

Sudden antipathies to persons or things often yield to a better knowledge of them. It seemed strange to people of average intelligence that a whole foreign quarter in a great American city should have recently revolted against vaccination. The feeling and judgment of these foreigners instinctively rejected the precaution. It is quite conceivable that in a few years such a knowledge of the nature and objects of vaccination might be diffused in the neighborhood as would completely change popular opinion in this regard.

A popular
revolt against
vaccination

The outcry
against
railways

The ludicrous outcry against the first railways in England was a manifestation of a popular prejudice which, as knowledge increased, disappeared.

Changes in ethical standards are familiar to the student of ethnology and history. Individual and social judgments as to lotteries have changed in a marked manner during the present century. There was, undoubtedly, a time when slavery was an ethical institution compared with the slaughter of prisoners taken in war. Polygamy once unquestionably received the sanction of the most advanced societies. The widening of human knowledge concerning the economies of nature and the essential elements of welfare has gradually modified men's standards of feeling and judgment.

Changes in judgments as to lotteries, slavery, and polygamy

§ 187. Feeling is the immediate source of volition, and as such is of the greatest social significance. Mr. Ward has well said that "the organization of feeling is the central task of Sociology." To elevate and unify standards of social instinctive judgment which shall exercise wide determining influence upon individuals, is a work of the utmost scientific and practical importance. When worthy criteria have once been fully incorporated in the psychical life of a group, large or small, the application of appropriate stimuli will immediately result in feelings and volitions of a correspondingly high order.

The significance of social feeling

"The organization of feeling the central task of Sociology"

Appropriate stimuli produce immediate feeling

On the other hand, it is equally true that low standards and a general demoralization of social feeling constitute a most serious menace to collective life. Ignorance and errors in cognition are, it is true, a source of danger, but perversion of popular feeling is a far more subtle and destructive malady.

Demoralization of social feeling involves great danger

The phenomena of feeling make it plain that, for purposes of immediate action, stimuli, exhortation, and appeal to ideals, not logical arguments, are required. He who would be successful in social control must adapt his methods to the conditions imposed by nature. Reason has a place, as we have just pointed out, in gradually forming and modifying standards of instinctive judgment; but when the time for action arrives, the appeal must be, not to intellect, but

For purposes of immediate action appeals to feeling, not logical arguments, are required

to emotion ; not to the rational basis of accepted criteria, but to the feelings which those criteria determine.

Illustration

A general's address to his army on the eve of battle

A general, addressing his men on the eve of battle, does not present an argument to show that it is logically the duty of each soldier to perform his part with fidelity; he does not lecture on the philosophy of patriotism. He appeals to them to fight for their wives and their children, for the honor and glory of their land, and to win the laurels of brave men, that their valiant deeds may go down in history.

The average political speech an appeal to feeling

While the average stump speaker makes a great show of argument, his real purpose is to arouse feeling, to stimulate party loyalty. He appeals to old watchwords, he refers to glorious victories in the past, and points to still greater triumphs to be won in the future. The opposing party is held up to ridicule, and every effort is made to deepen old prejudices. The very appearance of reasoning and proof is largely a device to flatter "an audience of such intelligence as this which it is my privilege to address."

Antony's funeral oration

The speech which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of Antony, when he addresses the Roman rabble over the body of Cæsar, is a famous example of successful appeal to popular emotion, as well as of the formation of mob spirit.

An audience quickly responds to an appeal for aid

An audience made up of people possessing in common a high standard of humanity, and lofty ideals of social obligation, responds promptly to an appeal for aid in behalf of a famine-stricken district. No logical proof of the wisdom, expediency, and ethical advantage of relieving distress is needed. The mere knowledge of conditions, skillfully communicated, immediately results in appropriate feeling.

The function of the preacher

The great preacher is he who primarily holds up high ideals of thought and conduct, and by his eloquence inspires genuine emotions, which issue in volition and action. The preacher cannot dispense with reason and argument, but these are subordinated to the main function of stimulating feeling.

Demoralization of popular feeling

Demoralization of popular feeling, the acceptance of low or perverted standards, is observable on every hand.

Municipal arrangements

The tourist from London, Birmingham, Manchester, Paris, or Berlin regards the uneven and filthy pavements of many streets in American cities with instinctive disgust, and views the political machinery with astonishment. The average American citizen accepts such conditions as inevitable. He may disapprove intellectually, but he has little or no feeling on the question.

Transactions of the most questionable kind, "corners" in food products, manipulation and "wrecking" of railways, "deals" of a dubious character, are reported in the press, usually in such a way as to emphasize the shrewdness and generalship of well-known operators. These facts do not, as a rule, arouse popular indignation, but rather stimulate feelings of admiration and emulation. The standard of popular feeling as to dishonesty, trickery, or abuse of power, on a large scale, is far from healthy, and reacts on individuals, especially upon the young, to whom unworthy ambitions are too often suggested.

Public standards of business ethics

Again, many estimable people tell, with evident satisfaction, of worsting railway and street-car companies, of getting children passed as under age or for half-fare, when they really ought to pay partial or full rates, of being overlooked by busy or careless conductors, and thus saving a ticket, or five cents. It is manifest that social feeling concerning such matters is not what the best interests of society demand.

Criteria of private conduct in relation to corporations

Ideals, *i.e.* instinctive estimates of value, and impulses toward imitation and emulation, are powerful social forces. High ideals influence individuals in a worthy way, but false and low ideals are a source of great social demoralization. Mr. Riis tells us that the ideal of the street Arab is the ward "tough," or the harbor thief, or the professional burglar. Young men are often ambitious to be "sporting men," men about town, and the like. Such standards prevail in the groups to which they belong. Vice receives a measure of sanction or extenuation from the opinion of a certain public.

The power of ideals

The increase of social intelligence is greatly to be desired, but, except in so far as it influences social feeling favorably, knowledge alone cannot save society from danger and disaster.

Intelligence without proper standards of feeling cannot save society

Social Psychology displays certain laws, two of which are of especial importance: (1) The psychical energy of society at a given moment is a fixed quantity; and (2) social psychical force cannot long be concentrated upon one object. Society, being in double reaction with nature, must comply with certain conditions, in order to preserve form and maintain existence. To this end society must observe, know, feel, and act. The processes of social observation, cognition, and feeling, or instinctive judgment of value, all are carried on as divided psychical labor, the products of Indi-

Summary

vidual Psychology being organized, through the reaction of authorities and publics and the rivalries of schools and parties, into social observation, intelligence, and standards of judgment. Social knowledge illuminates and modifies social feeling, but for purposes of immediate action the latter must be appealed to by exhortation and idealistic stimulus, rather than by reasoned argument. The degeneration of feeling is a source of danger to individual and collective life.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. A concrete example of an attempt to start a reform movement at a time when social interest was otherwise absorbed.
2. A description of a successful attempt to increase psychical energy by education and by improvement of the communicating apparatus.
3. The "law of contrast" as illustrated by the popular interest in the Russian prison system, described in Kennan's articles.
4. The progress of a local reform movement in the community where the student lives.
5. An illustration of the double reaction between society and nature by material and social arrangements in a given community.
6. Give examples of events which penetrate the social consciousness in different degrees.
7. Describe the national weather bureau as an organ of social observation and cognition.
8. Suggest the general process of forming the social knowledge that the earth moves about the sun in an elliptical orbit.
9. An observed instance of social knowledge resulting from the reaction of authority and the public.
10. An observed instance of social knowledge resulting from a partisan conflict.
11. Suggest the general process of forming the social feeling against prize-fighting.
12. Give instances of the changes which increased knowledge has wrought in ethical and æsthetic standards.
13. Give instances of the observed effects of perverted social feeling.
14. An analysis of a political address, to determine the relative proportions of rational argument and emotional stimuli.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL VOLITION AND EXECUTION—MORALITY AND LAW

§ 188. We have traced the processes by which the perceptions, cognitions, and feelings of individuals are combined into collective observation, intelligence, and instinctive judgment common to larger or smaller social groups. We have seen that increased efficiency in social perception leads to an enlargement and clarification of social knowledge; and that this growing intelligence constantly modifies social standards of feeling, or estimates of worth.

The relation
of feeling
to volition

Individual Psychology tells us that feeling instantly transmutes itself into will. To feel strongly is to wish something done. It follows from this law that common knowledge and feeling will produce a common will. If all the individuals in a given group hold the same general opinions and are governed by the same standards of feeling, they will desire the same course of action. A genuine common will can be formed only as a result of such community of thought and feeling.

Feeling is
instantly
transmuted
into will

Inasmuch as a large society is made up of countless aggregates and organs, each with a body of knowledge and standards of judgment peculiar to itself and in some respect differing from that of any other group, it is manifestly impossible so to unify and render authoritative all these psychical resources and impulses, as to produce in all

Every large
society made
up of many
groups, each
having
peculiar ideas
and feelings

matters a common volition, — a general will with which all individual wills actually coincide.

There are
opinions and
judgments
common to
whole societies

Yet, on the other hand, it is clear that the intelligence and feeling of different groups about certain phenomena may be, in a greater or less degree, consolidated into a body of social knowledge and judgment which will produce a given volition common to all the aggregates and organs involved. In other words, some feelings are much more general than others, and a common will may, under certain conditions, characterize a whole population, which, on other questions, is divided into many antagonistic groups.

Illustrations

Different
feelings with
regard to the
liquor traffic

There is a certain aggregate of men who firmly believe that the manufacture and sale of liquor should be socially prohibited; they feel intensely on the subject. Every evil effect of intemperance that is brought to their notice instantly arouses an emotion of indignation, and they are at once conscious of a wish to put an end to the traffic which renders such results possible. Common knowledge, and especially a common standard of judgment, produces a common will. The same incident which thus affects the prohibitionists would produce in another group a desire or will to regulate and control the sale of liquor, while still another class would simply deplore the weakness of individuals and feel no impulse to modify existing arrangements. It is clear that, for the present, at least, a general volition is utterly impossible.

The unanimity
of all groups
in Chicago in
securing the
World's Fair

The proposition to hold the World's Fair in Chicago met with general local approval. A common feeling that the city would gain in reputation and prosperity instantly passed into a common will that the plan should be carried out. Newspapers, the board of trade, railway companies, political organizations, trades' unions, — all classes and groups of citizens were unanimous in their wish to secure the Fair.

Differences of
feeling about
Sunday
opening of
the Fair.

On the other hand, when the question as to the opening of the Fair on Sundays came up, opinions and feelings varied widely. There was no common will, but several antagonistic group volitions instead. The efforts of each party to convince the others that they were wrong may, possibly, have modified in some slight degree the intelligence and feeling of each group; but anything like agreement was not even approached.

§ 189. While many widely different bodies of collective knowledge, feeling, and volition may and do exist side by side in society, it is manifestly impossible that antagonistic group wills should find harmonious and simultaneous expression in action. People and parties may entertain a great variety of different opinions, may be governed by equally divergent standards of instinctive judgment, and may have a corresponding number of conflicting desires, without involving society in difficulty or danger; but the moment they attempt to embody their varying wills in overt acts, regardless each of the other, they threaten social order and welfare. It is obviously necessary, therefore, that some means should be available for coördinating the peculiar volitions of individuals and social organs into a single determination, which can result in definite and orderly execution.

Social action differs essentially from social knowledge, feeling, and volition

Many different social feelings may coexist, but actual execution must be coördinated and unified

The directors of a railway or other corporation often have different ideas, judgments, and volitions as to the management of the affairs intrusted to them. Sometimes, by discussion and argument, they come to a unanimous decision as to policy; *i.e.* they form a common will. But in many cases no such agreement is reached. Nevertheless, by means of a vote a single determination is reached. It would clearly be ruinous if each individual or party in the board were to put into execution a different plan. The interests of the concern demand that one definite policy shall be fixed upon and executed.

Illustrations

The directory of a commercial company

So, in every social organ, whether it be a church, a factory, or a family, different ideas and feelings may coexist; indeed, such diversity, if it does not result in antagonisms, is desirable; but the welfare of the group requires that there shall be some means of securing orderly and unified executive activities.

Every social organ must be able to form decisions

Church quarrels furnish illustrations of antagonistic volitions. The congregation is split up into two or more factions, each of which insists upon having a given minister, or a certain form of church music. Feelings of antagonism are aroused, and oftentimes the trouble results in the division or dissolution of the church, because it is impossible to form either a common will or a decision in which all are willing to acquiesce.

Church quarrels as exemplifying irreconcilable acts

Political organization as a means of reaching social decision

§ 190. Every social organ must have, as a condition of its existence, some means of forming a collective decision. The regulating system of every group may be tested by its ability to render this important service. In proportion as a social organ can reach a definite conclusion, in which its members acquiesce, and can put it promptly into execution, will the group, other things being equal, do its appointed work efficiently.

The political organization of social aggregates and organs into unities, such as cities or states, affords the most conspicuous examples of devices for combining many individual and group volitions into collective decisions. No amount of executive machinery is of any value, unless it is set in motion by definite and coördinated impulses.

The state provides means for forming and executing social decisions

The state, in its legislative aspect, provides an apparatus for determining the collective will, and in its executive character, a mechanism for transforming that general volition into appropriate action. While it is true that every social organ carries on both these activities, the functions, as displayed in political organization, are far more general, and lend themselves more readily to clear exposition. We shall, therefore, confine our study in this regard chiefly to the phenomena of government.

Elections do not form a genuine common will, but effect determinations

The device of elections involving the supremacy of the will of the majority, is the chief means of reaching social decisions. This method does not succeed in forming a genuine common will, but it determines the authority of a given impulse to find expression in action.

Illustrations

Political parties in the United States

At every political election two or more volitions, as to men or measures, struggle for the victory; *i.e.*, for the right to be put into execution. In the United States, for example, one party may be set down as favoring in general a radical modification of the tariff; another represents a collective wish to retain, in the main, an existing schedule. The votes of one party outweigh in numbers those of the other. The

former gain the right to execute their will. But the wish of the minority has not been merged in the volition of the majority. No common will has been formed. Merely a decision has been reached, which, in the nature of things, must be definite and exclusive. Except in rare cases of virtual unanimity, "The will of the people," as descriptive of a social decision, is rhetoric rather than reality. To admit the necessity of reaching decisions is not to acknowledge the existence of a general social volition.

The "will of the people" rhetoric rather than reality

§ 191. The phenomena of social volition and determination are by no means simple. Struggle for supremacy does not involve merely the definition of different group wills, and the victory of the stronger in its original form. Volitions undergo many modifications before they are executed, or even submitted to vote.

Social
psychical
Mechanics —
opposition,
coincidence,
compromise

If we regard the many wills of different social organs and aggregates as forces exerted in correspondingly diverse directions, it is easy to conceive of situations analogous to those discovered in Mechanics. These psychical forces encounter each other at different angles, as it were, and certain resultant determinations and actions follow by virtue of the impact.

Three general cases are possible: (1) when the various social volitions coincide and reënforce each other, (2) when equal forces meet in exactly opposite directions and completely neutralize each other, and (3) when they meet in direct or oblique opposition, and result in a determination whose force and direction are in general proportioned to the original forces, and the degree of opposition in which they met.

Social volition may be exerted in the same direction, or may be directly or indirectly opposed

These phenomena of social psychical Mechanics are observable in the reciprocal action of authorities and their publics, in the struggles of factions within political parties, in all the activities which precede the definition of collective volitions which are to be submitted to electoral arbitration, and finally and clearly in executive acts.

Psychical
Mechanics in
the relations
of authority
and the public

Illustrations

The existence of gambling in cities due to equilibrium of opposed volitions

Legislative compromises as resultants of different group wills

Representation of the popular will numerically considered

There is no such thing as actual representation of the popular will

Unforeseen contingencies may utterly change the relation of the representative to his constituency

The unanimity of all groups in seeking to secure the World's Fair for Chicago (§ 188) afforded an admirable example of social volitions exerted in the same direction, and reënforcing each other. The fact that gambling is permitted in open defiance of the law in certain large cities, may be attributed superficially to the inefficiency or dishonesty of the police, but it is in reality, like other forms of municipal corruption, an evidence that the forces of social volition on the one hand to abolish the practice entirely, and on the other to remove all restrictions from it, are in such equilibrium as to permit a certain amount of gaming to go on unmolested.

Legislation constantly displays compromises which are simply resultants of opposing volitions. High license may be regarded as a resultant of the impact between the demands for prohibition, and for unrestricted sale of liquor. Bimetallism bears a similar relation to free silver and gold monometallism. The famous Missouri Compromise is another case in point. Party platforms represent compromises resulting from the conflicting wills of many groups, factional or geographical. A tariff bill is the resultant of a vast number of wholly or partially opposed interests and desires.

§ 192. In popular thought, the legislature of a politically organized group is conceived as representing, by virtue of suffrage and election, if not the collective will of the citizens, at least the volitions of two or more distinct parties in the city or nation. As a matter of fact, this theory is largely erroneous. There is almost never such a thing as representation of the will in regard to specific acts. The legislator is chosen on certain general grounds, but aside from the vague limitations imposed by party platforms, and the usually rather indefinite pressure which may be brought to bear on him by his constituents after election, the representative is free to make decisions about which those who chose him often know nothing, or are not in a position to form an intelligent opinion. Unforeseen contingencies may so utterly change the aspect of affairs that the legislator ceases to be, even in the most general sense, a representative of the electoral district from which he comes. Mani-

festly, if election is to be defended on the ground that, by the supremacy of the majority, it secures a genuine numerical representation of collective volition, it has but a weak case.

We summarize from Schäffle an estimate in a hypothetical case of the number of persons represented in a given legislative act. Assuming manhood suffrage, from which women, children, and criminals are excluded, it is fair to conclude that only one half the individual wills of the community can exercise themselves. As a matter of fact, perhaps only two thirds of those with the right to vote exercise that right, on the average. The actual voters are thus only two thirds of one half of the adults in the community, or one third. Further than this, if the actual majority amounts to two thirds of the actual voters, then the result of the expression of popular will through the ballot is an expression of two thirds of one third of the wills of adults in the population, or two ninths. Suppose we assume, further, that at each vote of the representatives so chosen to form any legislative body, two thirds of the members are present, and one of their enactments is carried by a two thirds majority. In that case we have to multiply the two ninths obtained above by two thirds of two thirds, or four ninths, in order to find the actual fraction of the people concerned in reaching the conclusion assumed. Two ninths of four ninths is eight eighty-firsts, or about one tenth. The result is, therefore, that before the legislative conclusion is reached, even in the case of so-called universal suffrage, the universal majority will shrinks to the representative will of one tenth the adult population.

Illustrations

Schäffle's hypothetical case designed to show that even with manhood suffrage only about one tenth of the adult population on the average have direct determining influence in a legislative act

§ 193. Although election manifestly falls far short of securing numerical representation of the popular will, it may be the means of placing individuals with ability as social leaders in positions of authority, and it certainly serves to keep the public in close relation with collective agencies of decision and execution. We have seen that authorities are necessary to give direction to social thought and feeling, while, on the other hand, the reaction of the public upon such sources of impulse is equally essential to individual and social welfare.

Representation defended as the selection of authorities in close relations with the public

Close and sympathetic relations between leaders and the public are essential to social efficiency

Right decisions may be reached by an enlightened despot, but without the voluntary acquiescence of his subjects, enforced execution of his will is the only alternative. Election offers a means for establishing authorities and reacting upon them ; it affords the people a sense of self-determination, without which complete personal and collective development are impossible.

Illustrations
The employment of Pinkerton detectives at Homestead influenced legislation in Kentucky

Authorities acted upon by public opinion

The employment of Pinkerton detectives at Homestead, during the strike in 1892, aroused popular indignation in many parts of the United States, notably in Kentucky. The papers of that commonwealth started an agitation for legislation which should prohibit the use of bodies of detectives, or "private armies," as they were termed, in the state of Kentucky. Many citizens sent petitions to their state senators and representatives, urging the passing of a law. No election was held to determine the popular will. The authorities at Frankfort, acted upon by their publics, with whom they maintained relations of close sympathy, passed a law which public opinion evidently demanded. It is quite conceivable that a body of life peers, secure in their positions, might have ignored the urgent appeal.

Elections serve a most important social purpose, but their influence is far more subtle, and less definite and mechanical, than is popularly supposed.

Social volitions are objectified in manners, customs, and laws

Social conventions and technical procedures largely determine individual wills and acts

§ 194. It is obvious that, in proportion as people think and feel alike, they will have similar volitions and express them in similar ways. In a manner analogous to the formation of social knowledge and standards of judgment, individual volitions and acts tend to group themselves into uniformity, and become fixed and conventional in manners and customs, which, handed down from one generation to the next, modified gradually, but never losing their continuity, exercise a determining influence upon the wills and acts of all who belong to the society. Thus each social organ or aggregate has customs or technical procedures peculiar to itself, while whole nations are characterized by certain general conventions, which are virtually common to

all citizens. Manners and customs are, for the most part, socially unconscious (§ 170), and even individuals conform with them almost instinctively. The well-bred person is he to whom the mere formal courtesies and amenities of social intercourse have become almost reflex, "a second nature."

Manners and customs are socially unconscious

Certain customs which regulate the relations of men and are of recognized importance to social coherence and progress come, at length, to gain greater authority than others. They receive the sanction of society. Little by little conformity with them ceases to be merely optional, and becomes obligatory. They gradually develop into customary laws, which are enforced by society.

Customs grow into laws, and are socially enforced

As social development proceeds and organization attains a higher complexity, the need of definite collective decisions becomes constantly more pressing. Society must, as a condition of its survival, determine upon (1) positive acts, by which to adjust itself to ever-changing natural and artificial conditions; and (2) regulative principles, which shall secure that coördination of activities which is essential to social existence and growth. By means of the legislative machinery of a politically organized society, these two classes of determinations are being constantly made and embodied with precision in legal statutes.

Social determinations in given cases take the form of (1) positive or (2) regulative statutes

Thus social volitions, past and present, are represented in a vast body of conventions, which vary from trivial rules of social etiquette to collective decisions, which have behind them the coercive power of great nations.

All the most familiar procedures of family and social life have long histories of development. How many individual volitions have been concerned in the evolution from the alternate surfeiting and fasting of early savages to the regular meals of modern life, or in the decree that soup shall precede fish and that both shall come before the meat!

Illustrations

Englishmen, on the road, pass to the left, because, it is said, their ancestors wished to have the right arm nearest the possible enemy that might be encountered on the highway.

Manners and customs as consolidations of many individual wills and acts

Fashions in coats may change, but the two buttons on the back remain a monument to the fact that hunting gentlemen had the will to loop up their skirts when they rode after the hounds. The history of manners, customs, and fashions is a whole department of study in itself.

The English
common law

In the English common law we have an organic product of individual volitions combined, through centuries, into general principles, which influence a large part of the world to-day.

Positive
statutes

A statute law directing the executive branch of government to build a canal, or improve a harbor, or construct a war vessel, is a positive social decision, embodied in legal enactment.

Regulative
statutes

A law defining the way in which companies shall be organized and conducted, or prescribing the plans in accordance with which buildings must be erected, or requiring the inspection of mines and factories, is a regulative statute. All laws which define crimes and indicate punishments are obviously of this second class.

In customs, and especially in laws, social knowledge, feeling, and volition find formal outward expression.

The relation
of social
growth to
legal
statutes

§ 195. We have seen that the vital principle of society is psychical. Improvements in technical devices, and other external readjustments, are merely expressions of psychical modifications in social knowledge, feeling, and volition. Laws, likewise, are embodiments of the same forces. It is obvious that enactments which express the social volitions of a given period may, after a time, cease to represent the ever-changing body of popular knowledge, feeling, and will; or the principles involved may be so thoroughly incorporated in instinctive conduct, as no longer to require the support of formal social authority. In other words, laws become superfluous, or are outgrown. New conditions arise which so completely change public sentiment, that statutes once appropriate are clearly anachronisms. Or, under the influence of a sudden impulse, a law may be passed which does not embody the sober opinion and real wish of the people. Such a statute is often quite as ineffective as one which has been outgrown.

Certain laws
in the course
of social
progress tend
to become
either super-
fluous, or are
outgrown

"Dead-letter" laws may be dealt with in two ways: they may be permitted by the executive authorities to fall into disuse and be quietly ignored, or they may be enforced. In the latter case the contrast between the old ideas and the new arouses public feeling, and usually secures the repeal of laws which have evidently lost all popular support.

"Dead-letter" laws may be ignored, or enforced and repealed.

Or, perhaps, the discussion may discover an unsuspected latent sentiment in favor of an alleged obsolete statute, and secure its reënforcement. Again, since social development is not always, or as a whole, genuine progress, it is possible that a "dead-letter" law may embody a higher ideal than that of a later generation, and in rare cases it may be feasible to arouse public intelligence, feeling, and volition to such purpose that the old statute will be revived.

Very rarely they may be revived

But, in general, the attempt to enforce upon one generation the will of the past, or upon one society the will of another, is doomed, in so far as the two volitions differ, to certain failure.

Futility of attempting to force the ideas of the past on an unwilling present

It is hardly necessary to point out that a chief source of weakness in present-day reform movements is the failure to comprehend the nature of law. To suppose that the statute books form an arsenal, whither one may resort for ancient or cast-off weapons, which, once put in use again, will rout all evil, is to ignore the laws of social development.

The so-called New England "blue laws," relative to Sabbath observance, are, for the most part, obsolete, and could not be enforced. Yet the sentiment which originally created them still exerts an influence through customs and morals. Fewer railway trains are run on Sunday in New England than in other parts of the United States. Public amusements are restricted. Sunday baseball games between professional teams are prohibited.

Illustrations

The "blue laws" of New England Sunday observance

In Chicago, on the other hand, with a large cosmopolitan population having no common traditions, many municipal regulations with regard to Sunday, such as those requiring saloons to close after a certain hour, or prohibiting ball games, theatrical entertainments, etc., are

Sunday in a cosmopolitan city like Chicago

absolutely ignored. An attempt to enforce most of these "dead-letter" laws would be utterly futile, and, if pressed, would very likely end in their repeal by the city council. The question, in such instances, is not simply whether there are laws which bear upon the case, but chiefly whether the laws are an expression of contemporary public feeling and will.

At the risk of repetition we refer to another phase of liquor legislation in connection with this subject. We express no judgment as to the feasibility of prohibition as a policy, or its sanction as a principle, but merely cite what we believe, on good authority, to be facts in a specific instance. The state of Kansas, as a whole, has enacted a prohibitive law which applies to every village, town, and city in the state. In the capital, Topeka, public sentiment is strongly in favor of the measure, which is locally enforced, with comparative efficiency. The city of Wichita is characterized by a wholly different group feeling in the matter, and saloons are maintained there in open defiance of state law. In the case of the first city, the volition of an external public coincides with the local will; in the second instance, the attempt to enforce, by dictation from without, a policy in opposition to the general sentiment of the community, ends in virtual failure.

The prohibition law of Kansas easily enforced in Topeka but largely ignored in Wichita

The functions of morality and law

Individual wills are determined to appropriate conduct by internal impulse and external constraint

§ 196. The coherence and progress of society are conditioned upon the appropriate performance of a vast number of individual activities. What are the influences which insure such discharge of personal functions, — what are the forces that determine individual wills to the acts which are conducive to the welfare of social units and of the total organism? These forces are two. They have the same end; they complement each other. One is internal; the other external. Morality imposes the obligation of self-determination toward appropriate conduct; law represents the constraint or direction exerted by the will of others. That conduct is of the greatest worth in which both these elements find expression.

The discussion of ethical standards belongs to Statical Sociology. We may here simply indicate the two aspects of conduct in relation to morality and law. The former, largely through common knowledge and standards of feel-

ing, gives direction to the individual will which, in normal conditions, is reënforced by law, the formal expression of social volition.

These two forces complement each other

Self-direction independent of law, and legal restraint without the response and acquiescence of individual determination, are almost equally harmful to society.

The efficient soldier is he who feels a keen sense of duty and addresses himself to his tasks with ardor and enthusiasm, scrupulously observing, however, the minute and definite regulations which characterize military discipline. It is hard to say which class would make the worse troops, men with the best motives and highest courage who ignored commands, or spiritless fellows who sullenly went through perfunctory maneuvers.

Illustrations

Morality and law combine to make efficient soldiers

The anarchist who is quite sure that without legal restraint he would conduct himself in the most social manner, and the socialist who plans to regulate individual activities in detail very much as though persons were puppets, seem equally to ignore the dual nature of volitional determination.

The anarchist and the socialist largely ignore the dual nature of determining force

§ 197. There have been endless discussions as to how far individual interests are reconcilable with social welfare. We cannot undertake to analyze in detail the relation of the individual to society. This much seems clear, however: if men were completely informed about all the elements of their own welfare, and if they made their plans accordingly, in seeking their own good they would necessarily consult the best interests of the society of which they are parts. On the other hand, the conditions of collective life impose upon the individual certain obligations which he cannot ignore. He must not only be a healthy and normal cell, but he must sustain proper structural and functional relations with other cells, not only for the sake of the whole, but to attain the very completeness at which he aims. Egoism describes the motive which primarily seeks self-completion; altruism, that which aims at getting into appropriate relations with the

Egoism and altruism

If men were completely informed about all elements of their own welfare in seeking personal good, they would consult the best interests of society

whole organism. But, as we have seen, self-completion and organic normality are so interdependent that it is impossible to formulate principles of discrimination that will apply in all cases.

The man who maintains physical health is so much the better able to serve his fellows. He who by genuine social function seeks to acquire wealth is increasing social no less than personal efficiency. Gratification of the instinct for sociability may benefit not only the individual, but those with whom he associates. Personal acquisition of knowledge, other things being equal, increases the area of social intelligence. The effort to sustain appropriate relations with nature and mankind enriches individual life, as well as makes truly social existence possible. By a specious argument, one may show that selfishness, or enlightened self-interest, really should be the sole motive of human conduct; for, it may be said, whatever tends to improve society as a whole, ought to offer enlarged opportunity for individual development; and, on the other hand, in so far as the social unit seeks to attain complete self-realization, he is consulting the best interests of the whole society to which he belongs.

In practical discrimination of right conduct among social beings, it is impossible to make either the individual or the whole organism the sole standard. We are sometimes able to discover the best assurance of probable individual good from our perception of social utility; and, on the other hand, we sometimes learn principles of social righteousness by scrutiny of the known elements of individual well-being. Whether we can demonstrate the complementary relation or not, the already discovered economies and harmonies of society authorize the belief that rational egoism and rational altruism are not radically opposed, but essentially complementary.

Self-comple-
tion involves
improved
social
efficiency

Selfishness as
a human
motive

Rational
egoism and
rational
altruism not
radically
opposed but
essentially
complemen-
tary

§ 198. The observations of the preceding section are based upon a rational conception which in the past, and even in the present, has attained only a slight influence in social knowledge, feeling, and volition. We have seen that social growth is chiefly unconscious; *i.e.* each individual goes about his peculiar tasks with little thought as to their relation to the total activity of society. There is no ordered plan of social development by which certain work is assigned to each person.

In the absence of such generally conscious coöperation, it is to be expected that many acts which may be rationally egoistic, will seem to individuals opposed to their own interests. In other words, men will naturally rebel against conduct which is really appropriate, because they cannot conceive of all the relations involved. Hence arises the conflict between so-called egoism and altruism. To the individual the antagonism is real, while in the philosophic conception it is only apparent.

Since altruism, or coöperation in its highest sense, is a condition of social progress, we may well inquire what motive has been effective, in the absence of intelligible rational sanction for social conduct.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd deserves credit for emphasizing the service of the religious motive, the function of idealism and supernatural sanction in social progress. While we are not prepared fully to accept his proposition that the antagonism between the interests of the individual and of the organism is real and inevitable, or his main contention that religion alone is so preëminently a factor in social evolution, we do recognize the value and importance of his work.

Many historians and social philosophers have undoubtedly slighted, and some have positively denied, the almost inestimable service of religion in determining individual wills to truly social conduct. We cannot here discuss this question

The function of the religious motive

Social growth being unconscious, the individual has little rational sanction for altruistic conduct

The conflict between so-called egoism and altruism

Kidd deserves great credit for emphasizing the service of religion in affording supernatural sanction for social conduct

which is manifestly of too great importance, but may only thus suggest the relation of the religious motive to volition and conduct.

The following quotation from Kidd briefly summarizes his conception of the part which religious systems play in social development : —

A quotation
from Kidd's
Social Evolution

"It would appear that the teaching of evolutionary science as applied to society is that there is only one way in which the rationalistic factor in human evolution can be controlled ; namely, through the instrumentality of religious systems. These systems constitute the absolutely characteristic feature of our evolution, the necessary and inevitable complement of our reason. It is under the influence of these systems that the evolution of the race is proceeding: it is in connection with these systems that we must study the laws which regulate the character, growth, and decay of societies and civilizations. It is along the ever-advancing or retreating frontiers where they encounter each other that we have some of the most striking effects that natural selection is producing on the race. It is within their borders that we witness the process by which the external forces that are working out the destiny of the race are continually effecting the subordination of the interests of successive generations of men to those larger interests to which the individual is indifferent, and of which he has only very feeble power to realize either the nature or the magnitude."

Summary

Social feeling instantly transmutes itself into volition ; but while many different feelings and volitions may coexist in society, social action must be coördinated and unified. Political organization furnishes conspicuous illustrations of devices for reaching social determinations by means of election, which is defensible, not as a means of representing numerically the popular will, but as a method of selecting authorities, and preserving intimate relations between them and their publics. Differences in social volition give rise to phenomena of opposition, coöperation, and compromise. Social determinations result in manners, customs, and laws, the latter of which are rendered superfluous or are out-

grown as society advances. Appropriate individual volition is determined by the complementary forces of law and morality. In the apparent conflict between self-interest and collective welfare, the religious motive exerts a most powerful influence in securing social or altruistic conduct.

SUBJECTS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. An observed instance of the dissolution of a social group through inability to reach a collective determination.

2. What general feelings and volitions common to the whole society are discoverable in a given community?

3. What feelings and volitions peculiar to separate groups are discoverable in the same community?

4. An observed instance of compromise determination in the community where the writer lives.

5. An observed instance of volitional equilibrium in the same group.

6. A concrete illustration of the reaction of a constituency upon its legislative representative.

7. An examination of the local statute books in a given community, to discover how many laws are "dead letters."

8. Observed effect of attempting to enforce an obsolete law.

9. An account of the origin and development of any custom peculiar to a given group, in a community with which the writer is familiar.

10. A criticism of Kidd's *Social Evolution*.

11. An examination of Ward's "Theorems of Dynamic Sociology" (*Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II., pp. 106 *seq.*).

12. An examination of Gumplowicz' "Social Hypothesis" (*Sociology*).

13. Observed instances of the socializing effect of religious influences.

14. Observed instances of the socializing effect of knowledge, and also of the failure of such effect, with inferences from the facts.

CHAPTER V

RECAPITULATION

This chapter
a conspectus

§ 199. It remains to review our method, and to recall some of the relations between the section of Sociology which this book treats, and the larger whole to which the fraction belongs.

Book I. a gen-
eral account
of scientific
relations

Sociology an
outgrowth of
both scientific
and unscien-
tific antece-
dents

Sociology rec-
ognizes its
scientific de-
pendence

Sociology dis-
tinguished
from projects
of reform

The organic
conception of
society

§ 200. In Book I. it appeared that Sociology is not an arbitrary creation, but that it occupies a natural and appropriate position in the hierarchy of the sciences which the methods of real knowledge have created. Sociology was shown to be an outgrowth of philosophy, of philanthropy, of industrial revolution, of social experiment, of the various branches of physical, and biological and social science. It was pointed out that Sociology in its latest form recognizes its dependence upon the antecedent sciences, and that it is free, in theory, from the assumption that it can proceed upon premises of its own, without reference to the results of particular investigation of the elements of social combinations. The judicial relation of Sociology to projects of social reform was carefully explained, in order that the student might be led to adopt the attitude of the investigator rather than that of the agitator. An account was given, finally, of the hypothesis of social relations called "the organic conception of society," a view which substitutes for the partial conceptions, unavoidable when particular groups of social activity are under special consideration, a

composite view, in which social activities are surveyed in the concrete, and their manifold interrelations are recognized.

This cursory account of Sociology as a philosophy was prefixed to the subsequent exhibit of Sociology as a method, in order to indicate the nature of the results which this latest order of thought about society aims to reach. At the same time it was intended to show that, for investigation of phenomena so complex, a valid method is of incalculably greater immediate importance than any results which might be obtained at once by superficial processes. It is to be hoped that, for a long time after beginning the serious study of Sociology, students with latent ability to form independent judgments about social relations will see that they are not yet entitled to opinions of their own, and that during the development of their social intelligence the conclusions of others are relatively less important than the enlargement of their own power to formulate the conditions of social problems.

Method rather than immediate results, the object of the manual

The student not primarily concerned about the conclusions of others

§ 201. Book II. introduces the student to an anonymous but not fictitious Western settlement. The growth of a now flourishing Western city is traced from the arrival of the first "prairie schooner." This narrative is in no sense an attempt at rhetorical embellishment, but it is inserted with the most direct pedagogical purpose. In the first place it furnishes a concrete statement of the conditions which the remainder of the book attempts to analyze and synthesize. It is a description of reality to which reference is tacitly and often expressly made in the later portions of the manual; and the concrete details are meant to be vehicles of the thought afterwards formulated in abstract generalizations.

Book II. a narrative for pedagogical purpose

Not an attempt at embellishment

But the narrative serves a still more fundamental purpose. Each student is acquainted with one or more communities in which social development has reached one of the stages

The story calls attention to available sociological material

through which the growth of this particular city has been traced. It may never have occurred to the student that Sociology can be studied in his own home. He has thought of men and societies in the abstract, or at all events at a distance, as the subjects with which Sociology is concerned. Our story of the family on the farm, the neighborhood group, the village community, the town and city, is deliberately chosen to convince the student that within the field of his own observation there are all the essential qualitative elements of all social combinations. A corrective of visionary speculation will be found in the study of Sociology in those elements which each community contains. It is hoped that students who use this manual will be helped by it to enter upon the vocation of citizen, with the purpose of understanding the municipal life of which they are a part, and of exerting in their own community an intelligently social influence.

A corrective
of visionary
speculation

Community
life interpreted in
organic terms

§ 202. In general, the remaining Books of the manual attempt to exhibit the real relations between the different kinds of activity to be discriminated in the observation of ordinary communities. These relations are most readily interpreted in the language of Biology. It will be remembered, however, that the biological analogies employed in the course of the treatment have in no case been insisted upon as important in themselves. Wherever a biological element has been discovered in social combinations, it has been referred to its proper place as, in the first instance, a subject for investigation by biological science. The biological fact has been treated as secondarily, not primarily, proper subject matter for Sociology. Wherever, on the contrary, an analogy with vital facts has been detected, the emphasis has been placed not upon the analogy, but upon the apparent interrelation between the terms upon the social side of the analogy. In other words, the organic concep-

Biological
analogies not
essential

tion of society, so far as it has been employed in this guide book, does not concern itself at all with demonstration of a continuity of types of relationship through different orders of phenomena. We are concerned at first with those relations of interdependence which social phenomena actually display, and we are for the time quite indifferent to larger generalizations in which these facts of social interdependence may have a place. If a familiar biological relation suggests a similar relation between social elements, the real or supposed analogy is valued in Sociology simply as a medium of that particular social revelation.

§ 203. These general traits may be reviewed more specifically. In Book III. the work of discovering essential relationships between social elements is begun. The first step is to identify constituent social elements. We look for these distinct parts under the guidance of the biological analogy, because it is evident that societies are like living organisms, at least in the fact that they exhibit a certain structure and manifest the phenomena of growth. For assistance in arranging the facts of social structure and growth, we use the concept "Social Anatomy." We find that the elements organized into social structure are land and persons. We make account of the fact that the qualities of these elements must be ascertained, just as scientific knowledge of a chemical compound has to be reached by observation of its constituents. We note the phenomenon wealth, as the initial product of combination between land and persons.

Following our process of "constructive analysis," we observe the primary social elements in the elaborated forms of property and the family group. As it is not our purpose to attempt analyses which belong strictly to economic science, we direct our attention chiefly to the personal elements of social combinations, yet always without abstracting

Book III. distinguishes the constituent social elements

Social anatomy

Land and persons

Wealth

Property and the family

The family the
social micro-
cosm

them from their necessary relations with land and wealth. We discover in the primary social group, the family, the embryo of every activity of society at large.

Social aggre-
gates

When we encounter the phenomenon of social growth, of increase in mass, we discover at once increase of structure.

Social organs

This structure proves to contain certain aggregates of persons bound together by ties predominantly personal, and other aggregates formed primarily by the adhesive principles of property. These aggregates perform peculiar parts of social activity. We accordingly transfer to them the appellation "organ." These organs in turn work together for certain immediate ends, and we are able to group them accordingly into the "sustaining system," the "transporting system," and the "regulating system."

Social nervous
system

While we do not find occasion to employ, in this primary analysis, all the biological analogies which the facts suggest, we discover the immense importance of social devices for communication, which perform services in society like those of the nervous system in an animal body. We find that even rudimentary study of this psycho-physical system in society affords insight into many mysteries of social activity.

Book IV. dis-
cusses social
activities as
"functions"

§ 204. In Book IV. we dealt principally, as we had previously been obliged to deal incidentally, with social activities considered as the operation of coördinated social elements to produce ends consistent with the nature of the social organism. Again we find that conceptions and terms already in use serve us in expressing certain obvious traits of the phenomena, and we appropriate the designations, "Social Physiology" and "social functions." Pursuing the order of our previous analysis, we consider first the functional activities of the family. From this point of view we discover again that the family is apparently society in microcosm. The functions performed by the family are, on the

"Social
Physiology"

minutest scale, the same functions in principle which vast social institutions combine to perform.

We trace a progressive differentiation of functions, however, and a corresponding integration of families or of individuals into groups which perform functions for communities of persons larger than the family. These functions are not invariable, but, on the contrary, a vicarious economy appears among social organs as among individuals. They are capable in some degree of bearing each other's burdens.

But we find that persons fitted to perform social functions are in numberless ways diverted from immediate social usefulness. The postponement or the interruption of social functions is so frequent that the phenomena require special observation, and we classify and criticise them most conveniently as facts of "Social Pathology." Beginning with the family, we find that each social organ is subject to derangement of function, and is thus likely to disturb all other social activities. We are able to point out certain sources of social functional derangement, as suggestions for diagnosis of specific cases, and particularly the intimate connection of disorder in the family group with all pathological conditions of society. We are able, finally, to point out the functional significance of institutions and coöperative efforts to secure normal social activity, together with certain general principles of judging phenomena of social disease.

Social organs

Imperfect functional activity

"Social Pathology"

Suggestions for social diagnosis

§ 205. Book V. introduces investigation of phases of social activity about which knowledge is as yet least precise. Our method of observation and classification compels us to confront at last social realities, of which the obvious facts previously considered are merely consequences, or manifestations, or symbols. Not by deduction, but by gradual advance from the better known to the less known, we reach the perception that beneath all the movements of indi-

Observation ends with perception that psychic force is fundamental

viduals and of society there is psychic energy. By our elementary processes we arrive at an estimate of the importance of psychic forces in society corresponding with the judgments of those who have done most to shape recent sociological thought.

No attempt
to prejudge
psychical
questions

Conformably with our purpose of refraining from pushing analogy into exaggeration and falsification of reality, and of deferring the formation of general conclusions until the evidence is collected and criticised, we have avoided discussion of the possible basis for differentiation of Individual from Social Psychology. It is sufficient to note, in this preliminary survey, that there are psychic phenomena in society sufficiently distinguishable from individual psychic activities to constitute special groups; and the designation "Super-psychology," or "Ultra-psychology," registers this discrimination without prejudging the more difficult question.

Analysis of
"public opinion"

Having shown the utility, for purposes of inspection, of separating the psychic phenomena of larger or smaller groups, from those of individuals, we proceed in our analysis to divide the facts popularly referred to as "public opinion" into their elements. We find that no designations suit the purpose of description so well as the terms "consciousness," "knowledge," "feeling," and "volition." In these terms we predicate of the collective psychic activities attributes corresponding fundamentally with those of the individual mind, but distinguished from them by peculiarities which require special definition, and which operate in accordance with laws for which we must seek particular formulation. Although investigation of Ultra-psychology is hardly begun, we were able not merely to detect the facts of social unconsciousness in large sections of social activity, and the corresponding fact of social authority, but to suggest certain important tendencies of social economy already discernible in connection with these facts.

Social
consciousness,
knowledge,
feeling, and
volition

Unconscious-
ness and
authority

Among the more obvious generalizations of the facts of Ultra-psychology, we emphasized two which have immediate significance in connection with all proposals of reform. These tendencies may be termed provisionally "the law of limits" (§ 178), and "the law of contrast" (§ 179). Of equal technical importance, if dynamic action is contemplated, are the functions of divided labor in the formation of social knowledge, feeling, and volition, by which available social force is employed.

Primary laws
of psychic
action

Formation of
social knowl-
edge, feeling,
and volition

In the last chapter upon Social Psychology, we discussed some of the differences between social knowledge and feeling on the one hand, and social volition on the other hand. We incidentally reached principles of criticism which furnish explanation of social inaction. The machinery of social decision was explained; the psychical conditions betrayed by "dead letter laws" were analyzed, and the functional relations of morality and law were briefly expounded. Finally, the place was indicated which Sociology finds for the essential function of religion.

Peculiarities
of social
volition

Social decision

Morality, law

Religion

§ 206. We have aimed throughout the manual to keep readers reminded that the plan of study here outlined covers but a fraction of Sociology (§ 29). We have attempted to make students suspicious of all apparently easy solutions of the problems of society. In urging competent teachers to lead capable students beyond the point at which this book stops, we once more propose the scholarly ideal—*not investigation as a substitute for civic service, but investigation as both promise and performance of civic duty*. The justification of Sociology will be its contributions to knowledge and its aid toward realizing the conditions of complete human life.

The manual
assumes that
wider social
investigation
will follow

Sociology a
preparation
for social
action

The merit of such contributions must be earned by strenuous exertion. Easy Sociology is probably false Sociology.

Easy Soci-
ology is false
Sociology

The right of free thought does not involve the competence of every man to think every order of thought. Sociology cannot be brought within the comprehension of everybody. Social relations are so wide and involved that the most capacious and penetrating minds will be most reserved about assuming that they have reached final conclusions about the economies of social action. It is due not only to truth, but to expediency, that Sociology shall be exhibited as a realm of thought in which effective work can be performed only after critical use of the most diverse orders of facts, and by exertion of the maturest judgment. Scientific students of society ought to oppose with all their power the many mischievous tendencies to construct mountainous social philosophies out of molehills of social knowledge.

Sociologists
are not
reactionaries

This is not to urge that sociologists should be reactionaries. There is little likelihood that men who personally observe actual social conditions, according to the method which we propose, instead of speculating about them in the study, will want to fold their hands and let social evil work out its own salvation. In the interest of larger and truer knowledge, and better social coöperation in the future, it is, nevertheless, necessary to distinguish very clearly between provisional action prompted by sympathy, and the discovery of social principles attested by science.

The conditions
of human wel-
fare may be
known and
controlled

This manual has attempted to show that there is discoverable coherence throughout the whole range of social conditions and actions; that the factors of human welfare are intelligible; and that the forces by which the conditions of human welfare are to be secured and maintained are within human control. We have indicated in elementary form, and within a comparatively restricted field, the method of knowledge and control which science sanctions. Application and expansion of this method is the programme by which we may hope to solve both sociological and social problems.

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